OUTLOOK
and Independent

VOL. 159—No. 14

DECEMBER 2, 1931

"Aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport the world affords."
—Theodore Roosevelt

WITH OUR READERS

The British Election

To the Editor: *Union City, N. J.*

SIR—Permit me to question the correctness of your analysis of the British elections in your issue of November 11th under the heading "Britain's Right Turn." Just as the daily press and various periodicals, you emphasize Labor's loss and the Conservative gain in parliamentary representation, while carefully refraining from mention of the popular vote, which would put quite another face on the matter.

At the election two years ago, when Labor won its large parliamentary representation, in nearly every district there was a Conservative, a Liberal and a Labor candidate, and a plurality was sufficient to elect. This year in most constituencies Labor faces a united opposition—Conservatives supporting Liberal candidates in some districts and Liberals voting for Conservatives in others. With such a fusion of the two capitalist parties, a tremendous loss of parliamentary seats by Labor was a foregone conclusion.

However, *there was practically no increase in the popular vote for Conservatives and Liberals.* Two years ago they polled between them somewhat over thirteen million votes (Conservatives 8,000,000 plus—Liberals 5,000,000 plus). This year they again polled between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 votes (Conservatives 11,000,000 plus —Liberals 2,000,000 plus). The Conservatives thus gained three million votes, but at the expense of the Liberals, who lost a similar number.

Labor's candidates received over 6,500,000 votes—approximately one-third of the total, which quite refutes your statement that Britain's fear of the Laborites "amounted to panic." This six and one-half million votes also refute your statement that Labor is "discredited and devastated."

Deserted by three of its outstanding leaders—MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas, facing the united opposition of the entire British press, discriminated against in allotment of time on the air by the British Broadcasting Company, infinitely inferior in financial resources to their opponents, Labor still was able to retain eighty per cent of its highwater vote of two years ago, while the combined vote of the Conservatives and Liberals did not increase.

The conclusion seems inescapable that you and other periodicals like yours, and the daily press, *are afraid* to let the American people know that, in spite of all the disadvantages of the Labor Party enumerated above, in spite of a deliberate attempt to stampede the British electorate with "patriotic" ballyhoo and a plea to "Save the Nation," in spite of all this, more than six and one-half million voters—one third of the total—voted for the candidates of the Labor Party.

ROBERT LEEMANS.

Prohibition as an Issue

To the Editor: *Cove, Oregon*

SIR—I think you are making a serious mistake in treating the prohibition question as if it were the outstanding political issue at present and for the national election next year, when at least ninety per cent of our population have ceased to consider it in any way, except as a side issue of minor importance.

Why should any one now display such intense emotion over this question when it is already satisfactorily settled for a large portion of our people, who have become used to making their own brew and cheap wine from concentrate and waste fruit? Why should we worry so much over a thing that cannot be improved on very much for a long time into the future? We know that the Eighteenth Amendment is here to stay and will eventually dwindle down in status to the level of the Thirteenth Amendment. We should feel reasonably certain that, in the near future, enforcement will only be attempted in states and cities where the majority demand it, and then we may secure a liberal interpretation of intoxicating liquor which, together with state enforcement and regulation, is the only possible way out for a decade or longer.

It is a rank fallacy to imagine that a permit to manufacture beer will make any improvement on the economic condition, as most of the beer bibbers are now producing it at home at a cost of less than fifteen cents per gallon. During these hard times, not many would go away from home to buy it at many times that price, nor would the winemakers create any perceptible increase in the consumption of wine grapes, if licensed. Rather the contrary, if wine were sold at ordinary prices without any government revenue being added.

Let us now consider that in all likelihood at least half the states in the Union will have repealed their own prohibition and enforcement acts within the next two years, and that this will compel any administration to act accordingly.

It is too late for the government or municipalities to make any money and reduce other taxes from revenues on any kind of intoxicating liquor, and yet be able to entertain the hope of stopping bootlegging and home manufacture at the same time. This would be undesirable, anyhow, as the proper way would be to sell it at cost, so that it would stop at once and entirely all bootlegging. Later, with the Swedish system, we would have the best solution yet devised.

KARL STACKLAND.

Bouquet

To the Editor: *Berkeley, Calif.*

SIR—The OUTLOOK is certainly provocative of thought, a stimulating tonic that keeps my thoughts on the jump. I have gleaned more clean, bracing humor from its pages—real gems of humor—such as "Prince in the Movies," "Where is Coolidge," "Have Women a Sense of Humor," "Girl Makes Good," "Poverty on Park Avenue," and "Prose and Worse." Give us more articles by Creighton Peet, Nancy Hill, Walter R. Brooks, Ibby Hall and Henry F. Pringle.

I admire your fearless stand on the topics of the day. It is worth a great deal to read articles which are honest in their viewpoints, courageous convictions, free from hypocrisy. The OUTLOOK has a good, strong backbone. Keep it up.

ELOIS FELICIA ELDEN.

Help Wanted

To the Editor: *Swissvale, Pa.*

SIR—In the event of a vacancy or additions to your editorial staff in the near future I wish you would kindly consider the application of my four-year-old grandson for a position.

After reading your publication for the past year I am convinced that the little chap possesses, to a marked degree, all the qualifications necessary to fit in admirably with your present force of writers and make good from the start.

If accepted, would suggest that he be assigned to assist A. F. C. who, I judge, must be about the same age.

JOHN R. PATTERSON.

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Culbertson: Soldier of Fortune
A Portrait of the Magnate of Bridge
By Andrew A. Freeman

Once a revolutionist and a radical thinker with money, Ely Culbertson travelled about the world taking the part of the "under dog." Then his wife lured him to the bridge table and he made a new "big business."

Japan's Stakes in Manchuria
By Paul Porter

With a large and rapidly growing population, Japan must expand or sink back, says this authority who writes a revealing article on the background of the struggle in Manchuria.

When Congress Fought T. R.
From Roosevelt: A Serial Biography
By Henry F. Pringle

Roosevelt's rows with Congress were violent and acrimonious, especially toward the end of his Administration. As told in this installment, one of his messages was rejected and even his staunch friend, Senator Lodge, rebuffed him.

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MIRRORS OF WASHINGTON, 1932

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OUTLOOK
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▸▸ Trend of the Week ◂◂

▸▸*Raskob Questionnaire*

For sending prohibition questionnaires to the Democratic campaign contributors of 1928 Chairman Raskob of the Democratic National Committee deserves the thanks of every voter. Fundamentally, his is an attempt to clarify political issues, put an end to pussyfooting, make political parties stand for something rather than for nothing. An important and significant cross-section of a political party is now afforded opportunity to speak clearly and definitely on a much confused subject.

Mr. Raskob, as every one knows, believes that the Democratic party should oppose the Eighteenth Amendment. He realizes that it will nominate a wet candidate for President in 1932; he recommends that it also adopt a wet plank. Stand up, he says to the 90,000 campaign contributors, and tell us what you recommend. Do you recommend that the Democratic party avoid evasion of its platform? That the platform commit all Democratic Senators and Representatives to vote in favor of submitting the Eighteenth Amendment to the people? That it favor ratification of amendments by state conventions rather than by state legislatures? That it commit all Democratic Senators and Representatives to vote to submit to the states an amendment for local control of liquor in place of the Eighteenth Amendment? That it commit them to submit an amendment simply repealing the Eighteenth? Finally, do you believe that the 1932 campaign can be waged successfully if the Democratic platform either remains silent on prohibition or carries a plank for "law enforcement"?

Here are several clean-cut questions. Honest wets can answer them; honest drys can answer them. Opposition to their being asked, like opposition to their being answered, can come only on grounds of political expediency. Party hacks may question Mr. Raskob's tactics, but the intellectually honest can only admire the frankness of his purpose.

▸▸*Its Probable Value*

It is clear that Mr. Raskob is taking a risk. If the majority of the answers are wet his hand will be strengthened in the effort to secure a wet plank. If the majority are dry his hand will be weakened; his power within the party will be lessened just as it was lessened last spring when the members of the Democratic National Committee ignored his suggestion that they urge a wet plank upon the next national convention. In his latest enterprise, however, the odds are in his favor, for, while the majority of the national committeemen live in dry states, the majority of the campaign contributors live in wet ones.

This is not to say that a wet majority in this poll would necessarily result in a wet plank. The convention delegates, not the campagn contributors, write the planks. Delegates, being for the most part politicians, are easily influenced by contributors—by contributors living in their own states, rather than by contributors living a thousand miles away. Of course, if the impossible happened, if every section returned a wet majority, the plank would be as good as written.

As it is, however, extreme difficulty will be found in translating wet answers from contributors in wet states into wet votes by convention delegates from dry states. The practical value of wet answers is that they will encourage the delegates from wet states to unite in a determined fight for a wet plank.

▸▸*Hard Prize to Award*

Last year the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Dr. Nathan Soederblom, known to possibly one American in a thousand. This year a former German Minister of the Interior, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, the President of Greece, a former Premier of France, the President of the German Reichstag and a host of others propose that it be awarded to one Count Coudenhova-Kalergi, known to possibly one American in a million. Whom do you propose? Your Uncle John's friend who cheered both Laval and Grandi on their rides up Broadway? Your Aunt Sally's daughter who married a man who once saw Briand at a banquet? Your old college chum who refuses to buy his son firecrackers? Not bad. Not bad at all. But how would it be to award the prize to General Shigeru Honjo, commander of the Japanese troops in Manchuria?

▸▸*Dreiser's Success*

Theodore Dreiser and his investigating committee seem to have gained the two major objectives of their visit to the Kentucky coal fields. The first, we take it, was to create public interest in the miserable conditions there, the second to arouse opposition to those responsible for them. As we have previously pointed out, the first was largely realized when Mr.

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Dreiser was indicted for misconduct; public interest in the coal fields of Harlan and Bell counties multiplied a thousandfold as soon as this silly sex story was spread on the front pages. The second purpose was realized when Dreiser and nine companions were indicted for criminal syndicalism. The criminal syndicalism charge has been so badly abused in backward and prejudiced communities that it now tends to put intelligent observers, not on the side of those who advance it, but on the side of those against whom it is advanced. It is apparently so in this case. Now that these two indictments have been returned, thousands of persons have a friendly interest in the Dreiser investigation who otherwise would have regarded it coolly or with complete indifference. Before Mr. Dreiser went to Kentucky there were intimations that the coal company crowd were manipulating the machinery of the law to suit their own ends. The criminal syndicalism indictment does nothing to prevent general belief in this intimation —to put it very mildly.

▶▶*The Railroads Accept*

IT IS GOOD to find the railroads accepting the proposal made by the Interstate Commerce Commission when it rejected their recent plea for a flat fifteen per cent increase in freight rates. What the commission proposed instead was to grant higher rates on specified types of freight on condition that the strong railroads pool the resulting extra revenues for distribution to roads needing them to meet fixed charges. This principle of strong roads helping the weak was hardly to be recommended for normal times, but as an emergency measure it seemed to be the common sense of the situation. It raised the question, however, of whether it would be acceptable to the railroads, the question now answered by the petition filed with the commission by the Railway Executives' Association.

The executives note the prevailing confusion as to whether the commission desired that the revenues be distributed as gratuities or as loans. If loans are contemplated, the executives are ready to proceed. They have organized and incorporated the Railroad Credit Corporation to transfer the extra revenues from the strong roads to the weak; they have proposed that this pooling continue until April, 1933, and that the loans be repaid with interest after two to four years. Thus, it is the commission's next move. It can approve, reject or amend the railroad plan but it can hardly afford to insist that the pooled funds be considered gratuities.

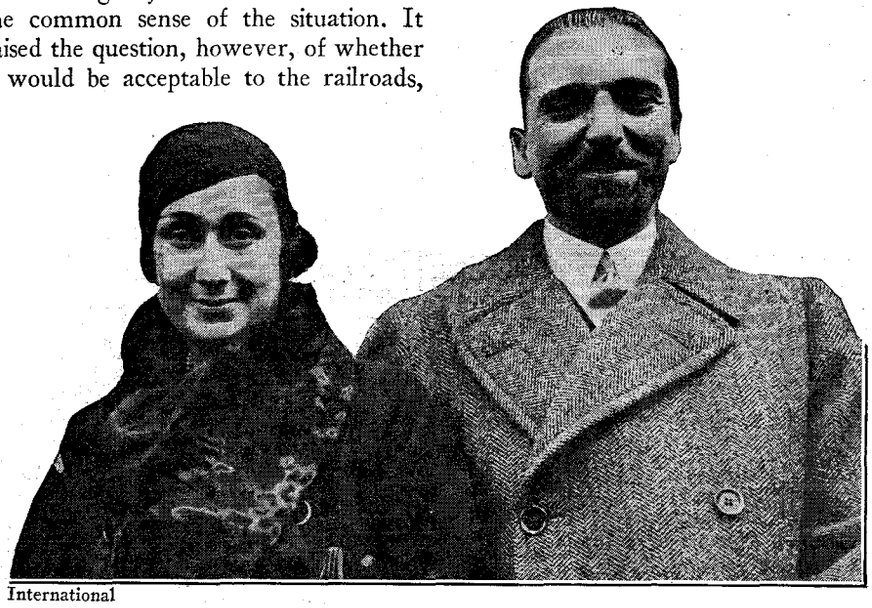
▶▶*Mystery Story*

WHY DID Foreign Minister Grandi pay his visit to Washington? The question may sound naïve, but one would nevertheless like to learn the answer. None of the answers already given is credible.

Signor Grandi himself explained that he came "to offer the Italian contribution to the common work for the common good," to further "the peaceful cooperation of all nations in the world and the recovery and the return to welfare and prosperity of all nations," to pay his respects to President Hoover and to "bring a message of friendship from the Italian to the American people." But this, of course, was the sort of thing one expected him to say if he did not wish to say anything, and no one paid any attention to it.

Another explanation is that Grandi came because he believes in personal contacts between Foreign Ministers and wished to see Secretary Stimson. But that can hardly be true, for Mr. Stimson visited him in Rome just a few months ago. Still another explanation is that the trip was a glorified publicity stunt, but that sounds rather doubtful, for the American people were hardly made aware of his presence. Finally, it is said that he came to reveal the Italian viewpoint and to learn the American viewpoint on such subjects as arms reduction, reparations and the gold standard. But that could have been accomplished simply by an exchange of notes or by conversations between officials of the two governments and members of their embassies in Washington and Rome.

A mysterious affair. All that we really know is that Signor Grandi said "Hello" to President Hoover in a thirty-minute visit on November 16, and "Goodbye" in a thirty-minute visit on November 19, in between times attending a state dinner at the White House on November 18 and, on the same day, holding a two-and-one-half-hour conference with the President. What they talked about no one knows. Apparently no agreements or understandings were reached; at any rate, there was no joint statement after the conference was over and the joint statement issued by Mr. Stimson and Signor Grandi next day said little or nothing. Can some shrewd addict of mystery stories explain what this visit was all about?



International

SIGNOR AND SIGNORA
Foreign Minister Dino Grandi and wife, recent guests of President Hoover

▶▶*The First Move*

GERMANY has now taken the first official step toward the revision of the Young plan for the payment of reparations. Professing herself unable to resume payments at the end of the Hoover moratorium next summer, she has asked the World Bank—set up at Basle, Switzerland, by the Young plan—to appoint an investigating committee to recommend means of squaring her reparations payments with her financial situation. The movement for revision, at first expected to be a matter of years, became a matter of months when the Hoover moratorium and its aftermath indicated Germany's inability to continue the foreign borrowings from which she made her payments. The question of "when" thereupon became one of "how" —would Germany, as France demanded, move toward revision on the path prescribed by the Young plan or would she take another road? Now we have the answer. So far as procedure is concerned, Germany sticks to the Young plan.

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This does not mean that henceforth the revision movement will have clear sailing. No one knows what course will

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VICTIM

Tom Mooney, who is serving life sentence in San Quentin Penitentiary

be advocated by the World Bank committee, whose recommendations, moreover, will be merely advisory and may be rejected by the interested governments. It is clear that Germany's creditors—principally France, Italy and Britain—will be loath to accept smaller reparations payments unless the United States accepts smaller payments on their war debts to this country. Hence the interest of the United States in any move to revise the Young plan. These are the broad lines, just as Germany's proposal is the beginning of a movement which promises to dominate the foreign relations of European countries and of the United States in 1932.

▶▶*Germany's Private Debts*

GERMANY'S debts to individuals in foreign countries complicate any discussion of her obligations to foreign governments. So it has been all along. It was by contracting these private debts that she secured, among other things, the wherewithal to pay reparations. Moreover, it was the withholding and withdrawing of private funds from Germany early this year that prevented her from continuing reparation payments and brought on the Hoover moratorium. In turn, the cessation of payments on reparations attracted still more attention to Germany's weakness and revealed the need for a second moratorium—on payments on private debts, amounting to $4,000,000,000.

About half of this sum is in the form of short-term loans which the creditors became eager to call following the announcement of the moratorium on reparations, just as one hastens to withdraw money from a bank following proof of its weakness. The resultant run on Germany threatened to produce national bankruptcy, which, however, was averted when, in August, Germany's private creditors, under the so-called stand-still arrangement, agreed not to call short-term loans before April 1, 1932. Like the Hoover moratorium, the stand-still agreement is merely a stop-gap. A more permanent understanding as to private debts is as necessary as a more permanent understanding as to reparations. In the hope of reaching such an understanding Germany's private creditors are meeting in Berlin on December 10.

In this meeting the United States has no small stake. Our interest in Germany's private debts is direct, not simply indirect as in the case of reparations. American banks and investors hold more than half of Germany's long-term and about a third of her short-term notes, an investment of nearly $2,000,000,000 all told. Germany has asked that the World Bank reparations committee take this private indebtedness into account, and actually, if not officially, this will be done, for reparations and private debts can scarcely be considered separately. Here, then, is the second reason why the work of the World Bank committee will be of great concern to America.

▶▶*Walker for Mooney*

IT STRIKES US that Mayor Walker has shown sincerity and generosity in taking up the cudgels for Tom Mooney. To see political motives in his trip to California and his appearance before Governor Rolph seems to us both illiberal and inaccurate. We had not heard that there was much political capital to be made from fighting for Mooney. Nor do we believe that there is.

Specifically, just what political advantage is there in this business for Mayor Walker? He is not running for any office in New York City—his term as mayor will not expire until December 31, 1933—and if he were he would not need his intervention in the Mooney case to win. On the other hand, if he were thinking of running for any office outside New York City—for United States Senator, say—probably it would do him more harm than good. Finally, it will be of little or no value in eradicating the black eye given the government of New York City by the Seabury investigation.

We must conclude that his trip is what it seems to be—a warm-hearted effort to secure a pardon for an imprisoned man in whose innocence he has "absolute and complete confidence." Mayor Walker has been interested in the case for some months and discussed it with Governor Rolph in California last spring. Since then he has received touching pleas for assistance from many of Mooney's supporters, from Mooney himself, from his sister and from his mother. "In the name of God and His blessed Mother," Mrs. Mooney wired from San Francisco on November 18, "won't you come out to help my boy?" Next day the Mayor announced that he would start at once.

Whether he will be able to win a pardon for Mooney is another thing. But his intervention can do no harm and may do some good. At worst, Mooney will simply stay in prison, where California evidently had intended to keep him in any case. At best, the Walker plea, even if it does not secure a pardon for Mooney, may revive public interest sufficiently to create a demand for a

International

AND HIS FAMILY

Mooney's sister, Miss Anna Mooney; his mother, Mrs. Mary Mooney; and his wife, Mrs. Rena Mooney

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federal investigation. In the end a federal investigation may prove to be Mooney's only real hope.

▶▶Blow at American Trade

THE NEW British tariff measure strikes a heavy blow at American exports. This fact would be generally recognized in the United States but for complacent attempts to belittle the bill, which actually authorizes an import duty up to 100 per cent *ad valorem* on all manufactured goods—a duty, for instance, up to $1,000 on a $1,000 automobile.

The argument that American exports will not be severely injured is built on statistics showing that less than a fifth of our exports go to Britain and that manufactured goods comprise only a quarter of that fifth. One can accept these figures, however, without accepting the conclusions drawn from them, which disregard four factors of considerable weight.

First, in the present situation any blow at our exports is a serious one; with our foreign trade cut on every side we can neither afford any additional cuts nor smile at a measure because it affects only five per cent of our exports. Secondly, the British measure may eventually be broadened to affect not only our manufactured products but our agricultural and other products as well; this extension is desired both by the British agriculturalists and the British dominions. Thirdly, the new British tariff act is merely a temporary measure to be supplanted by a permanent one next year—a rigid one, probably, since Parliament is completely controlled by pro-tariff Conservatives determined to build up British industries by excluding goods from other countries. Finally, the British tariff is but one of many recently directed at the United States; when our Hawley-Smoot tariff raised the American wall against other countries, at least a dozen of them started raising their walls against us. For a country which, like the United States, must increasingly depend upon its foreign trade for its prosperity, the erection of still another hostile tariff wall abroad is at best a serious matter.

▶▶Museum of American Art

THE new Whitney Museum of American Art in New York was not founded primarily to lift our minds above the depression, as one might suspect from the emphasis in the opening-day speeches on the thought that beauty is panic-proof and culture never cuts dividends. Nevertheless, it creates a welcome diversion from workaday affairs. In the world of American art, it is an event of first importance.

It means something that the Whitney Studio Club, which Mrs. Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, herself a sculptor, founded in 1914 to help young and unrecognized artists get a showing for their work, is no longer necessary and that the space and funds devoted to it may now be used for a permanent museum. What it means is that America is beginning to realize that all good art does not necessarily come from abroad, that there is

Keystone

PLEADS FOR HIS PLANKS
Nicholas Murray Butler suggests Republican platform for 1932

first-rate work, worthy of attention and, more practically, of purchase, here in our own country. New York is full of new galleries where this work may be seen and bought; several galleries and museums are showing it to the rest of the country. It may now truly be said that no artist of merit working in America, no matter how young or individualistic, need suffer for lack of an audience.

This being so, Mrs. Whitney turns to the important task of establishing a public art center where American work may be seen in quantity and evaluated. The opening exhibition numbers 700 works of art, which form the nucleus for a constantly expanding collection. Names as familiar as George Bellows, Thomas Eakins, Arthur B. Davies and Rockwell Kent appear side by side with names less familiar and names virtually unknown. In each case the selections have been made with an eye to lasting value and serious study, and with a desire, too, to demonstrate the artist's particular spirit and style.

The new museum will certainly become a focal point for visitors to New York from other parts of the United States and from abroad. It and the Museum of Modern Art, also in New York, which is working toward a permanent collection of the work of modern artists of all countries, will before many years make accessible to the general public a rounded and comprehensive estimate of what the artists of the present time have to say.

▶▶Planks for 1932

PRESIDENT Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University has suggested a number of planks for the next Republican platform. Among other things, they call for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, downward revision of the tariff schedules, wholehearted coöperation with the League of Nations and examination in international conference of the whole question of reparations and war debts.

Four good suggestions. Unfortunately, they have very little chance of being adopted. We make the guess that, instead of demanding repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Republican prohibition plank will read something like this: "The people, through the method provided by the Constitution, have written the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. The Republican party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and the vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution."

Instead of advocating downward revision of the Hawley-Smoot schedules, the next Republican platform probably will call the protective tariff "a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this nation" and pledge the next Republican Congress to revise the schedules upward to assist certain industries which, we shall probably be told, "cannot now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and lower cost of living abroad."

Instead of promising to coöperate with the League, the delegates can be expected to approve a plank something like this: "The Republican party maintains the traditional American policy of non-interference in the political affairs of other nations. The government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League. On this we stand."

Finally, instead of urging reëxamination of the war debts, the platform probably will say: "We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts," and to add:

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"We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair both to the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer."

What reason have we to believe that the Republican convention of 1932 is more likely to adopt planks like these than planks like those suggested by Dr. Butler? Well, we have a number of reasons. The most important is the fact that, word for word, these are the planks adopted by the Republican convention of 1928.

▶▶*Let's Forget It*

PRESIDENT HOOVER should appoint a commission—now just a moment, please—a commission of great engineers—please, just one moment—to visit Muscle Shoals and dynamite it. There; that's out. And it simply says what every one believes. Muscle Shoals should be dynamited and forgotten about, first, because nothing has been, is being or will be done about it, and, secondly, because it is boring the American people to death.

Nine or ten years ago we were all keenly interested in Muscle Shoals. Eagerly we all noted the big news of 1922—that a majority of the Senate Agricultural Committee had opposed the bid by Henry Ford. Excitedly we all made our comments on the bill offered by Senator Norris in the summer of 1922 for the use of Muscle Shoals water power by a corporation owned and controlled by the federal government. But our eagerness was worn out long ago, and our excitement with it. Just to keep the record straight, let it be noted that on November 19 Mr. Hoover published the report of a Muscle Shoals commission which advocated private operation. Senator Norris says the report is "full of tricks." But no one cares whether it is or not.

It was still fairly easy to be interested back there in 1924 when Henry Ford withdrew his offer, when Congress debated a bill to lease the property for fifty years and when Senator Jones proposed that a commission be appointed to make an investigation. (Incidentally, this was done, and the commission of 1924, unlike that of 1931, advocated operation by the government.) But six months later the subject had begun to cloy and the OUTLOOK struck a popular chord when, in its issue of April 15, 1925, it complained that "Muscle Shoals already has been dragged through Congress much too long."

That was how the American people felt about Muscle Shoals six years ago. Today they assume a vacant stare whenever the subject is mentioned and their poor, tortured minds turn wearily back to Mr. Coolidge's veto of one bill for government operation and Mr. Hoover's veto of another, to the first Norris bill, the Underwood bill, the Jones bill, the Morin bill, the second—or was it seventh?—Norris bill, the Gas bill, the Telephone bill . . . . Enough. Despite everything, the Muscle Shoals project is precisely where it was a decade ago. Congress will oppose any bill for private operation. Mr. Hoover will oppose any bill for public operation. And hereafter the rest of us will oppose any bill and any person referring to Muscle Shoals in any manner whatever.

▶▶*Stampede From Hoover*

"THE DECISION of Mr. Coolidge not to become a candidate next year entitles him to the highest praise of the American people," says Senator Johnson of California. "If Mr. Hoover were to make a like decision, he would have the undying gratitude of the rank and file of the Republican party."

An unkind statement. Yet it probably

Remarkable Remarks

Depression, hell! It's only a state of mind.—SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ARTHUR M. HYDE.

Alexander Wayo, Dallas Center, Iowa, $5 prize.

Our country is as great today as it ever was; as rich as it ever was. Our leaders are as great as we ever had. We were the last to feel the depression, and we will be the first to recover.—VICE-PRES. CHARLES CURTIS.

Elois F. Elden, 1405 Grant St., Berkeley, Calif., $2 prize.

There is work in this country for everybody.—HENRY FORD.

Mrs. Allen Bower, 19820 Battersea Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio, $2 prize.

We millionaires also have our troubles and tribulations.—CHARLIE CHAPLIN.

John P. Egan, 615 Fifth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., $2 prize.

Prohibition has been the greatest boon to all legitimate business and industry since the founding of the nation.—GRANT M. HUDSON.

Mrs. Olive M. Hagar, 5540 Pershing Ave., St. Louis, Mo., $2 prize.

The day will come when Chicago will be damned glad to have Al [Capone] come back.—RALPH CAPONE.

Harriet Corson, 1519 7th St., Monroe, Wisconsin, $2 prize.

In Detroit recently, as pilot of Lord Wakefield's *Miss England II* in the Harmsworth Trophy event, I was accorded treatment that could not have reflected greater consideration and well-wishing had I been piloting the American defender instead of the British challenger. I shall never forget it.—KAYE DON.

Gregg Koehl, 2530 Warsaw St., Ft. Wayne, Ind., $2 prize.

The average [scholastic] standing of a football squad is usually much higher than the standard of the rest of the school.—GLENN S. WARNER.

Thos. T. Traywick, Cope, S. C., $2 prize.

Human beings are always grand.—LILYAN TASHMAN.

Ruth V. Salmond, 832 La Fayette Ave., Columbus, Ind., $2 prize.

People who drink whisky or gin in the tub—and we say this although we know that thousands do—are the rankest barbarians.—WALTER R. BROOKS IN THE OUTLOOK.

Alice Gadoury, 263 Westford St., Lowell, Mass., $2 prize.

Conditions governing the Remarkable Remarks contest will be found on page 448

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expresses the open or secret opinion of many, if not most, Republicans. Insurgent Republicans are frankly hostile

Keystone

WANTS HOOVER OUT
Senator Hiram Johnson calls upon him to refuse renomination

to Mr. Hoover; regulars grow ever more gloomy about him and about their party's prospects. Senator La Follette intimates that the insurgents will oppose Mr. Hoover's renomination. Senator Borah hints of business men anxious to back him if he will run against Hoover in the Republican primaries. Senator Norris says "any progressively minded man could beat Mr. Hoover" in most of the West. Senator Blaine declares that "it is safe to surmise that I will not be for President Hoover in 1932." Meanwhile such rugged regulars as President Butler of Columbia and former-Senator Wadsworth sound the knell. The former asks the party to adopt platform planks which it will not adopt, and predicts its doom if it refuses. The latter warns of "grave embarrassments to Republican candidates . . . . especially in those great populous states whose electoral vote is decisive."

This grand rush to get off the reservation raises an interesting question: Who is to plead Mr. Hoover's case if his customary counsel run out on him? Who will be the Borah and Hughes of 1932? We nominate Secretary of War Pat Hurley and Charlie Curtis's sister, Dolly Gann. Both still think of Mr. Hoover as a miracle man. In a recent speech at New York, Pat insisted that the President, showing "the patience of Job and the courage of a lion," has "courageously and intelligently faced each emergency as it has arisen and has taken logical steps to mitigate its effects." While Dolly, speaking at Columbus, Ohio, declared that Hoover's defeat "would be an immeasurable calamity not only to our country but to the whole world." Because of Mr. Hoover's "long array of constructive measures," she said, "the great mass of the American people have never discovered that they were in hard times and have gone about their mirths and their employments without having found it necessary to limit in any degree their standard of living." If these statements do not qualify Pat and Dolly to head the Hoover advocates next year, we do not know what would.

▶▶*Farm Board's Latest*

HAS the Farm Board turned generous? It might seem so from a cursory examination of its latest cotton deal. Back in August, you may remember, the Farm Board made its ludicrous suggestion that the Southern planters plow under every third row of their cotton. If the planters would do that, the board promised to hold its 1,300,000 bales off the market until August, 1932, and to try to induce similar action on 2,000,000 bales belonging to cotton coöperatives financed by the board. This project was scorned by the Southerners, who quickly saw that it implied a loss for themselves though a neat little profit for the Farm Board. But now the board has agreed to hold the 3,300,000 bales off the market anyway—has agreed to do it though all the Southerners are doing in return is holding 3,500,000 bales of their own, a far cry from plowing 4,000,000 bales back into the soil.

So the Farm Board looks pretty generous. But is it genuine generosity? Not if you add and subtract. The board started buying its 1,300,000 bales when cotton was selling at 16 cents a pound; it advanced 90 per cent loans on 2,000,000 bales to the coöperatives during a period when cotton was averaging around 12 cents a pound. The total investment can hardly have lost less than $200,000,000. With cotton under seven cents it is now worth less than $110,000,000. No wonder the Farm Board doesn't mind holding its cotton off the market; taking a $90,000,000 loss would be a tough order. Far better to pay storage, to pray for an upward trend, to postpone the reckoning. In the end, however, there will be a reckoning and a loss—a loss for the taxpayer.

▶▶*In Brief*

IT IS said that the Raskob poll of contributors to the last Democratic campaign fund gives the party's dry wing the chance to be heard. The drys crab but never contribute. . . . On November 23 the Associated Press reported that Coach Anderson had given the Notre Dame regulars a night off "while he drilled teams two to eight on the Army formations." Teams two to eight! So that's the "Rockne system"! . . . . Nicholas Murray Butler's proposed planks for his party's next platform suggest that he is the only anti-Republican alive. . . . If the League of Nations finally decides to send a time-killing investigating commission to Manchuria, how about giving the chairmanship to Mr. Wickersham? . . . . "We have declared," says Dino Grandi, "that Italy was ready to reduce her armaments, her military budget, to the lowest level, provided an equitable balance of military strength could be reached among the nations." What a charming way to demand parity with France. . . . "Fall Now Eligible for Parole; Board to Consider Case Soon"—newspaper headline. No use keeping him in prison hour after hour. . . . Now that the football season is practically over the time seems opportune for another good strong campaign against overemphasis . . . . We are told that the typical Thanksgiving dinner in George Washington's time consisted of "turkeys, ducks, ham, chicken, beef, pig, tarts, cream, custards, jellies, trifles, floating islands, sweetmeats of twenty sorts, whipped syllabubs, fruits, raisin, almond, pears and peaches, with the usual accompaniment of

Underwood & Underwood

WANTS HOOVER BACK
Mrs. Dolly Gann believes his defeat would be "an immeasurable calamity"

beer, porter, punch and rum." Whereas the typical Thanksgiving dinner in Herbert Hoover's time consists of trifles.

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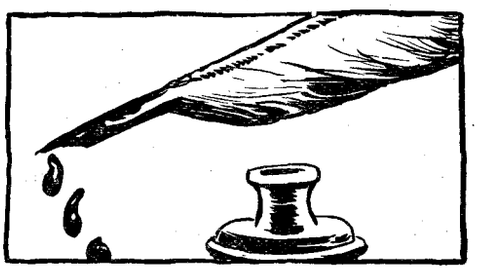
Japan Defies the League



IN THE most momentous test of its existence, the League of Nations has fallen down. Neither the OUTLOOK nor any other friend of the League can deny it. We have no desire to chant a funeral service over the League or to recite possible consequences of its demonstrated inability and unwillingness to prevent Japan from grabbing Manchuria. It is not yet clear what the full consequences will be, though they will be sufficiently serious. It is probable, however, that, since the League, our strongest instrument for maintaining peace, has proved itself too weak for practical purposes, the world arms reduction conference scheduled to be held at Geneva in February will be a tedious waste of time and that the nations will get set for a breath-taking armament race as soon as they are able to afford it. We seem to have reached the end of an era—an era in which a world-wide desire for peace found expression in the League, the World Court, the Locarno treaties, the Kellogg anti-war pact and the three great naval conferences. We are back in 1912.

POSSIBLY this is being too pessimistic. Possibly the League will yet redeem itself. Possibly it will demonstrate that no nation can flout it as flagrantly as Japan has done without suffering serious consequences. But at the time of this writing the evidence points the other way. Instead of sternly attempting to enforce its demand that Japanese troops evacuate Manchuria, the League is crawfishing away from it and discussing a plan to send a commission to the Orient to investigate Chino-Japanese relations in general and, some time within the next century or two, make a report, or a series of them. Meanwhile Japanese troops are presumably to stay where they are, or perhaps to penetrate into China a bit further. The whole idea is a ridiculous attempt by the League to "save face." In the words of Dr. Sze, Chinese spokesman before the League, it is "a mere device to condone and perpetuate for a more or less indefinite period the unjustifiable occupation of China's territory by an aggressor who already *virtually* has attained his unlawful objective while League discussions were going on."

THAT is a fair statement, even though it comes from one of the principals. Glance back at the record to date. Japan began military operations in Manchuria on September 18, thus violating the Nine-Power treaty, the Kellogg pact and the League Covenant. She then violated her promise to refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation, first, by bombing Chinchow, far in the south, and then by pushing into Tsitsihar, far in the north. She also disregarded the League's recommendation that she withdraw her troops by November 16. As matters stand, despite the League's repeated protests, she has virtually taken Manchuria. She has assumed control of all but a few hundred miles of Chinese railroad. She has overthrown all hostile Manchurian officials and is preparing to set up puppets in their stead. She has dispersed Chinese troops and occupied all strategic centers of any importance.

AND what is the League doing now that one of its members has invaded the territory of another? Is it preparing to punish Japan with a boycott? Not at all. Now that Japan has slapped its face, the League is talking about appointing a commission. Friends of peace and disarmament have read no such devastating news for the past decade. The Kellogg pact, of course, proved futile soon after the Manchurian struggle started, but no one expected anything else and so no one minded. Yet it did seem as if there were more life in the League. Not so. It, too, is futile when the test comes. The League has failed to fulfill its fundamental purpose—to prevent one member from conducting an aggressive campaign against another. Moreover, Japan has shown that treaties are still just treaties and that, under present conditions, nations which wish security must get it through armament. Jingoes are overjoyed.

THE Japanese invasion of Manchuria presents the nations with two alternatives, as their Foreign Offices already know and as their peoples will eventually realize. Now that our machinery for peace has been proved too weak to be of any use in a crisis, we must either strengthen it or abandon it. If we wish to strengthen it, we must pay the price; if we genuinely wish peace, we must prepare to make sacrifices for it—sacrifices of money and of men.

THE period in which the nations sought to get something for nothing is over. Japan has shown us that peace cannot be simply invoked. It must be enforced. The entire machinery of peace, but principally the League's machinery, must be strengthened, and we must help to strengthen it. Otherwise—

WELL, the other alternative is unfettered nationalism, which means war at regular intervals. Your dyed-in-the-wool nationalist will seize upon the League's present failure with an exultant cry of "I told you so." He then will add that, if the League and the Kellogg pact are both useless in a pinch, and if treaties remain mere scraps of paper, the proper thing to do is to build an enormous army and navy and to get ready for the wars which are sure to come.

THERE is more logic in this regrettable position than one cares to admit. We are just pessimistic enough to suspect that this is the lesson which may eventually be drawn from the Manchurian affair, rather than the alternative, but equally valid and far more sensible lesson—that the present machinery for enforcing peace should be drastically and thoroughly overhauled. The important thing now, however, is to realize just what Manchuria means. The important thing is to realize that our alternatives are more nationalism or more internationalism—one or the other.

The Editors

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Backstage in Washington

WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECENT EVENTS, in our opinion, show how honesty and humbuggery in politics often travel the same road and arrive at the same destination. Indeed, they seem to prove that the political hypocrite is not such an awful creature as he is made out to be. For all the denunciation of his catering to popular sentiment, whether that results in good or bad legislation, it is a fact that, after all, he reflects as well as respects the thoughts of the people who keep him in office.

We refer, of course, to the attitude taken toward prohibition by "Sunny Jim" Watson on the one hand and by "Johnnie" Raskob, the Democratic National Chairman, on the other. Mr. Raskob, with a pertinacity which perplexes and affrights certain weak leaders of his party, has resumed his campaign to commit the Democrats to the anti-prohibition side in the 1932 presidential campaign. Disregarding the moans and groans of influential Democrats who would have their party enlist in the side-stepping brigade headed by Herbert Hoover, Mr. Raskob has kept his promise to poll the party on the prohibition issue. "Joe" Robinson, Cordell Hull and Franklin D. Roosevelt, who thought they had headed him off by their protests last March, are panic-stricken lest Mr. Raskob and his political godfather, Al Smith, stage another scene of carnage at the next Democratic national convention. To the average Democratic leader, and we say this with all respect and realization of their feelings, it is far more important that they win next year than that they approach the prohibition question honestly. In view of the remarks current on Capitol Hill at the present moment, the ears of Messrs. Raskob, Smith, Baruch, Ritchie, etc., should be burning.

"Sunny Jim," naturally, has not been so forthright as Mr. Raskob. Indeed, he has not even mentioned the subject of prohibition. He has simply let it be known that he favors the selection of Postmaster General Walter F. Brown as a successor to Simeon D. Fess, Republican National Chairman and former director of the Anti-Saloon League. Quietly but effectively, Mr. Watson, a regular Republican and a political dry, has lined up with ex-Senator James W. Wadsworth and other moist members of the G.O.P. in their demand that Mr. Fess retire lest his dry views hurt the party in the presidential election. Although Mr. Watson spoke without consulting President Hoover, the very fact that he would take a definite stand on this controversial issue on his own initiative reveals that the Senator, though an honest old humbug, is sincerely troubled by the Administration's aridity.

MR. WATSON faces reëlection next year, and he frankly admits that he may be defeated, unless conditions improve in the next twelvemonth. The people of Indiana, like those in Kansas—we quote Vice-President Curtis—are extremely dissatisfied, and, at the present writing, seem determined to turn Mr. Hoover out of office. One of the great causes of discontent in the erstwhile Klan state of Indiana is prohibition. "Jim" thinks that his only chance lies in persuading his party to embrace, or at least flirt, with the wets. So long as Mr. Fess remains as National Chairman, the Senator realizes, there is no prospect of convincing, or humbugging, the people on this score. So, quite unexpectedly, Mr. Watson suggests, and publicly, that Mr. Brown become the party poohbah. For those who wondered at the Senator's readiness to speak out so frankly, it may be said that, as usual, he is thinking only of "Sunny Jim."

Mr. Brown, although he happens to be another political dry, is, personally, as wet as Mr. Raskob. He has no silly prejudices against liquor, even though he suppresses his views out of deference to "the Chief." His Toledo machine was never known for its high standard of civic virtue, and Mr. Brown, in the opinion of experts in Ohio politics, could even teach John F. Curry, leader of Tammany Hall, a few helpful tricks. Mr. Brown, to speak plainly, is no more than an urban political boss who has graduated to higher things. He commended himself to Mr. Hoover by his political handling of the post of Assistant Secretary of Commerce many years ago, and, subsequently, by his conduct of Mr. Hoover's primary campaign against the late Senator Frank B. Willis of Ohio. Since he became a member of the Cabinet, he has been the President's principal political adviser, he has harnessed the Southern delegates to the presidential chariot by his distribution of patronage, he has disabused Mr. Hoover of the latter's noble plan to reform the G. O. P. below the Mason and Dixon line, and he has been, to all intents and purposes, Mr. Hoover's consultant on all matters political. In so far as actual performance is concerned, he is the Republican National Chairman right now, and Mr. Fess only a figurehead. Mr. Brown, as "Sunny Jim" knows, speaks the language and thinks the thoughts of the boys of the district club's back room, whereas the Hon. Simeon says whatever Doctors McBride and Wilson of the Anti-Saloon League and the Methodist Board tell him to. Therefore Mr. Watson wants a change, and the sooner the better, for election day is drawing nigh.

Mr. Brown, we imagine, will yet become chairman in name as well as in fact. But, so we understand, it was the President's plan to have the Postmaster General forced to take the job by the National Committee rather than to have Mr. Hoover intervene in person. Moreover, the shift was to have been made quietly, and at a time, possibly during the coming winter, when the people's thoughts would be too occupied with other matters for them to pay much attention to so simple a transaction as the swapping of Mr. Fess for Mr. Brown. Now, "Jim" has spoiled it all; he has given warning to the Democrats, and the latter, we understand, have not been slow to take advantage of it.

AS A result, we predict that the selection of Mr. Brown as Mr. Hoover's political mentor and marshal next year will be accompanied by an outburst of criticism greater than that which met the President's appointment of such unfits as "Doc" Work, Claudius H. Huston and Mr. Fess himself. It will not require much research work on the part of the Democrats or anti-Administration newspapers to obtain some excellent data on the sort of political machine Mr. Brown has headed in Toledo, and, to a certain extent, in Ohio, for the last twenty years. Any illusion that Mr. Hoover, as he has so often proclaimed, still retains any purpose of improving the political tone or ideals of the Republican party, will vanish, if it has not already, with the naming of the erstwhile Toledo boss.

So Mr. Brown and Mr. Watson, with the tacit acquiescence of the President, may give a moist touch to the G.O.P., not only in the hope of saving the Hoosierite at the polls, but also with the idea of bolstering up the President's chances for reëlection. He most certainly needs some sort of a political tonic.

A. F. C.

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International

Manchuria: A Japanese View

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

Mr. Kawakami is editorial correspondent in the United States for *Hochi Shimbun* of Tokyo. He is one of Japan's distinguished foreign correspondents and has served Japan's leading newspapers in many parts of the world, including Manchuria

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IN AMERICA opinion seems to be divided as to the wisdom and effectiveness of the course followed by Mr. Stimson in handling the Manchurian situation. Some assert that the Secretary of State should have dealt directly with Japan and China by invoking the Kellogg pact and the nine-power Washington treaty. Others say that, since he decided to work through or with the League of Nations, he should have cooperated with it more wholeheartedly and vigorously.

In Japan, on the contrary, Mr. Stimson's manner of approaching the problem has been hailed as shrewd, and, to quote Count Ishii, "statesmanlike." The reason is not far to seek. For the sake of American-Japanese friendship, Tokyo hoped that Washington would take no steps which might be construed as America's eagerness to interfere with Japanese policy in Manchuria for the purpose of advancing her own prestige or material interests in China. It must be frankly admitted that ever since certain American interests tried to dislodge Japan from Manchuria in the years 1907-10, our "patriots" have been excessively sensitive to any American overture about that region. Had Mr. Stimson brought American pressure to bear upon Japan in the present instance the American bogie, laid to rest at the Washington Conference, would have been awakened and exploited by our jingo elements. China, on her part, would have done all in her power to make it appear to the world that America came to her rescue and was helping her to check Japanese influence. It would have made our militarists all the more unyielding and the position of the cabinet all the more difficult. What is infinitely worse, it would have started a campaign of recrimination on both sides of the Pacific, for, after all, Japan's acts and policies in Manchuria are not dissimilar to American acts and policies in Central America and in the Caribbean, which eminent American statesmen such as Colonel Roosevelt and Mr. Hughes have unequivocally justified. All such probable developments have been forestalled by Mr. Stimson's policy to act through the League.

IT IS not unlikely that Mr. Stimson, in acting as he has, has remembered the Manchurian policy of the late Colonel Roosevelt, for whom the Secretary of State is known to cherish great admiration. It was Roosevelt's policy to "keep Japanese immigration out of this country and at the same time to preserve the good will of Japan." To him the only way to accomplish this end was to allow Japan in Manchuria, not exactly a free hand, but a freedom to develop its vast resources to the mutual benefit of China and herself. When this policy was reversed by President Taft and Secretary Knox, Roosevelt wrote to Senator Lodge saying, "After I left office a most mistaken and ill-advised policy was pursued towards Japan, combining irritation and inefficiency."

The fundamental question which should be studied by the world is, What is Japan's objective in Manchuria? The answer is simple—Japan wants China to observe the stipulations of the existing treaties. She seeks not an inch of Chinese territory. She demands no new privileges. This is evident from the formula of five points which has been put forth by Japan as the basis of direct negotiations with China, for it includes "mutual pledges for non-aggression," and "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity." All she asks is a simple observance of the treaties signed by China since 1905 in due accordance with recognized diplomatic usage. That is the real issue, though it has been beclouded by the unfortunate military operations occasioned by the murder of a Japanese army captain and his party by Chinese soldiers, followed by the destruction, also by Chinese regulars, of the Japanese railway track at a point near Mukden.

Let us examine in detail just what Japan means when she asks China to observe the treaties. First, there is the South Manchuria Railway, whose lines total 690 miles. It has two main lines—one from Dairen and Port Arthur to Changchun, the other between Antung, on the Korean border, and Mukden. The Dairen-Changchun line was ceded to Japan by Russia by the peace treaty of Portsmouth, which cession was approved by China in the Peking treaty, of 1905. The cession of this line, under the original Sino-Russian treaty, was to run until 1983, with China reserving the right to purchase it after 1938. In 1915 Japan caused China to sign a treaty extending the term to 2002, with no purchase privilege for China until that year, when the railway will be returned to China without charge. The Antung-Mukden line was built by Japan under the Sino-Japanese treaty of 1905. Its term was to have expired in 1923, but the 1915 Sino-Japanese treaty extended it to 2007.

Then there is the leased territory of Port Arthur and Dairen, which was

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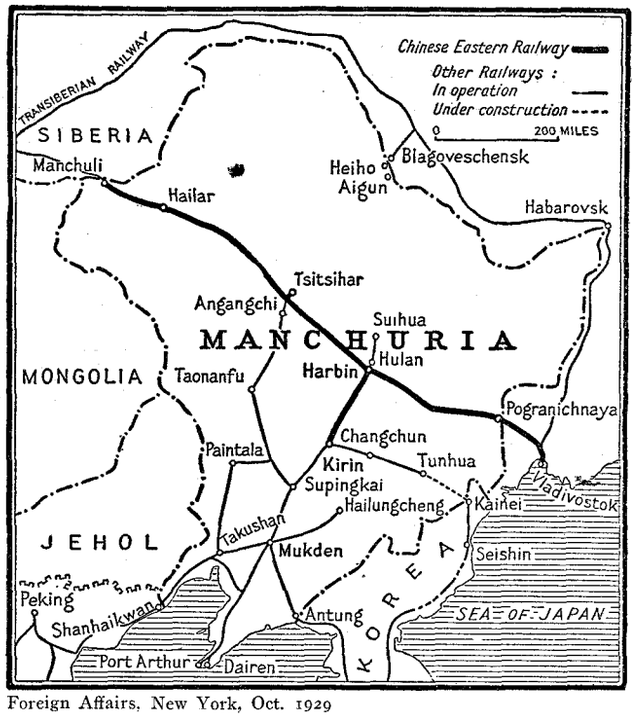
ceded to Japan by Russia, with China's explicit consent. The lease, under the original Sino-Russian agreement, was to have expired in 1923, but the 1915 Sino-Japanese treaty extended it to 1997. Russia considered the term of the leased territory or of the railway a matter of no importance as she had determined to annex the whole of Manchuria. But for Japan's single-handed opposition, that Russian determination would have been carried out. As long as Japan holds the South Manchuria Railway the leased territory is indispensable as its base of operation. It is here that Japan has developed the finest harbor in the Far East, Dairen, as an outlet to Manchurian produce. Also, the seashores of the territory are extensively utilized to obtain salt, a necessity for which Japan is almost entirely dependent upon foreign sources.

China has been asking for the rendition of the leased territory, and has intimated that in 1938 she will also demand the return of the South Manchuria Railway on the theory of *rebus sic standibus* and also upon the ground that the 1915 treaty, a result of the "twenty-one" demands, was signed by her under duress in the form of an ultimatum. In the light of international law neither of these contentions is well founded. Moreover, China's own official record contradicts the duress theory. The Sino-Japanese negotiations of 1915 were, be it remembered, opened on January 19, and on February 12 the Chinese government offered to Japan a counter-proposal accepting practically all the Japanese proposals relative to Manchuria. What it objected to was the notorious Group V, consisting of six demands which Japan clumsily explained were but "wishes." When Japan withdrew these "wishes," the Chinese government, thinking, perhaps, that she might make further concessions if it held out indefinitely, went back on the aforesaid counter-proposal of February 12. That is why Japan issued the ultimatum of May 7, i. e., 85 days after China had explicitly accepted the original Japanese proposals on Manchuria. If the 1915 treaty is to be scrapped upon such grounds as are now advanced by China, what treaties may not be subjected to the same treatment? Even the Versailles Treaty, which brought the League of Nations into existence, would be challenged. Once Kwantung and the South Manchuria Railway are taken away from Japan, China will turn upon the British possessions of Hongkong and Kowloon. Of this there is not the slightest doubt, for China believes that the British can hold Hongkong and Kowloon only so long as she will let them.



Foreign Affairs, New York, Oct. 1929

MANCHURIAN RAILROADS

China, finding it impossible to deprive Japan of the railway or the leased territory, has resorted to a pinpricking policy, instigating her soldiers to provoke the Japanese railway guards; arbitrarily increasing the export duty on the coal mined by the South Manchuria Railway to four *sen* per ton, although the rate of duty is fixed at one *sen* per ton by a treaty of 1911; protesting against the South Manchuria Railway manufacturing oil from coal shale which the company is fully entitled to do under treaty provisions; objecting to the said railway maintaining schools for Chinese and Japanese children in the railway zone; and generally contesting the right of the railway company to administer the comparatively small tracts of land, 100 square miles in all, the so-called railway zone which it has developed into so many oases in a vast howling desert of native maladministration, expending many millions of dollars on modern public works installed therein. The native militarists and politicians see in well-managed and thriving Japanese enterprises a splendid opportunity for graft and "squeeze," if only they can get hold of them.

The next question which Japan has long been trying to solve with China relates to the right of the Japanese to lease land for commercial and agricultural purposes in South Manchuria and eastern inner Mongolia. This right was conceded to the Japanese by the treaty of 1915, but the treaty has been nullified by the Chinese and Manchurian authorities' arbitrary orders forbidding the land-owners from leasing land to the Japanese. For fifteen years the question has been on the *tapis*, but with no hope of satisfactory settlement.

The organized persecution of the Koreans by the Chinese authorities has been another cause of embarrassment to Japan, for Japan's failure to protect these Koreans, who are Japanese subjects, cannot but prove detrimental to Japanese prestige in Korea and an encouragement to the Korean independents. Japan, of course, does not hold the Chinese or Manchurian government responsible for the sporadic acts of individual Chinese, but she insists that the government should not encourage and instigate organized anti-Korean pogroms. This also applies to anti-Japanese propaganda and boycott. The Chinese government puts forth impossible demands, and when Japan politely argues why they cannot be accepted, it lets loose virulent propaganda.

PERHAPS the most serious obstacle thrown in the path of the South Manchuria Railway is the Chinese lines built parallel to it in violation of an agreement annexed to the Peking Treaty of December, 1905. In obligating herself not to construct competitive lines to the South Manchuria Railway, China conformed to the precedent she had established in her railway agreements with foreign governments or corporations. For example, the agreement between China and the American-China Development Company, an entirely American corporation interested in the building of the Canton-Hankow railway, provided that "without the express consent in writing of the American company, no other rival railway detrimental to the business of the same is to be permitted, and no parallel roads to the injury of the latter's interest within the area served by the Canton-Hankow main line or branch lines."

Disregarding the 1905 agreement and Japan's repeated protests the Manchurian government has since about 1926 built 460 miles of parallel lines and was planning to build more when the clash came.

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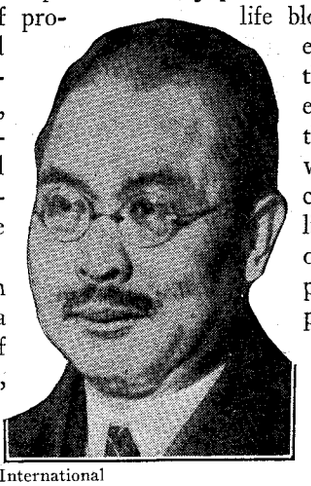
To make matters worse, the money which built these competitive lines came mostly from the receipts of Chinese-owned railways of some 480 miles constructed with Japanese loans amounting to some 143,000,000 yen. Although these loans are secured on the railways concerned and their receipts, not a cent has been paid to the Japanese creditors, because all the money which can possibly be squeezed out of the railways has been used to build the parallel lines to the South Manchuria Railway or to finance civil wars.

These Chinese parallel lines operate in an entirely different manner from the way in which such lines operate in other countries. Often the choice between the Japanese railway and the Chinese parallel lines is not left to the discretion of the shippers or passengers but is dictated by the Manchurian authorities in favor of their own lines. It is not a matter of fair or free competition based upon efficient operation. So common is official discrimination on the Chinese railways that even the Washington Conference, at the instance of the British delegation, included in the so-called nine-power open-door treaty the following provision:

"China agrees that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular, there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese railways."

As the parallel lines have become an accomplished fact, all that Japan can do is to stop their further extension. Although the lines already built are a great embarrassment to the South Manchuria Railway, its attitude does not seem at all uncompromising, for in 1928 Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, then vice-president of the company, publicly stated that the "Japanese Government and the South Manchuria Railway, in dealing with the question of parallel lines, are concerned mainly with the principle that the existing treaties and agreements must be observed" and that "once this point is recognized, the question of projected Chinese railways will be comparatively easy to settle." What Japan wants, then, is China's friendly consultation instead of her wilful and studied policy of jeopardizing the interest of the Japanese railway.

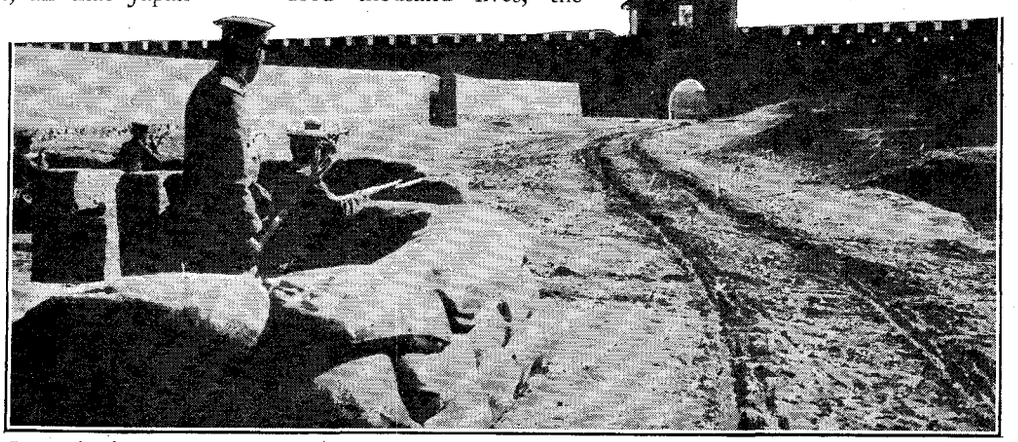


International

BARON SHIDEHARA
Foreign Minister of Japan

Another railway question to which Japan attaches a great importance is that of the Kirin-Korean railway, which she insists should be completed in accordance with the agreements of 1909, 1917 and 1927. This projected railway, when completed, will give the agricultural and forestry products of the Manchurian interior a sea outlet at the Korean port of Seishin, which in turn will be linked to the Japanese port of Tsuruga across the Japan Sea—a new trade route between Japan and the Manchurian interior much shorter than those now in existence. This projected line is to be built with Japanese loans but to be owned and operated by the Manchurian Government. Japan has already advanced 34,000,000 yen on this project. The first 130 miles of this line were built in 1928, but the remaining 130 miles are still to be built to complete the project. Since 1928 the Manchurian Government for no plausible reason has refused to continue work, thus leaving the project "up in the air."

The vast Japanese interests in Manchuria represent, first, a billion dollars and a hundred thousand lives, the cost of the war with Russia who was surreptitiously aided by China under the Li-Lobanov secret treaty of alliance, and second an additional two billion yen she has invested in various enterprises. These enterprises have become the cornerstone of Japan's economic structure. It is the life blood of her national existence. At the same time these enterprises have been enormously beneficial to the Chinese. Before its advent the Chinese in Manchuria barely eked out a living by taking in each other's washing. Today exports of beans and their by-products alone total 425,000,000 haikwan taels a year, for the Japanese created a world-wide market for them. In 1908 Manchuria's foreign trade, both imports and exports, amounted to only 100,000,000 haikwan taels. In 1929 it was 755,000,000 haikwan taels of which 36,000,000 were with the United States. Under the Russian régime the Manchurian railways were built and equipped entirely with Russian materials. The Japanese completely reversed that policy. In the 22 years ending March 31, 1929, the South Manchuria Railway imported from America alone more than 250,000,000 haikwan taels worth of railway materials. Lured by the peace and prosperity thus ushered in more than 5,000,000 Chinese immigrated into Manchuria from China proper torn by perpetual civil war and harassed by recurrent famine. The only marring aspect is the maladministration of the Manchurian government which has foisted upon the innocent, hard-working natives almost seven billion dollars in inconvertible, worthless paper notes in exchange for their crops, which the government sold for gold in order to maintain its inordinately big army, to finance meaningless civil strife, and to enrich the rapacious militarists and politicians. This frenzied finance, if permitted to continue unchal-



International

AFTER THE CAPTURE OF MUKDEN
A detachment of Japanese troops guards the principal gateway to the city

(Continued on Page 437)

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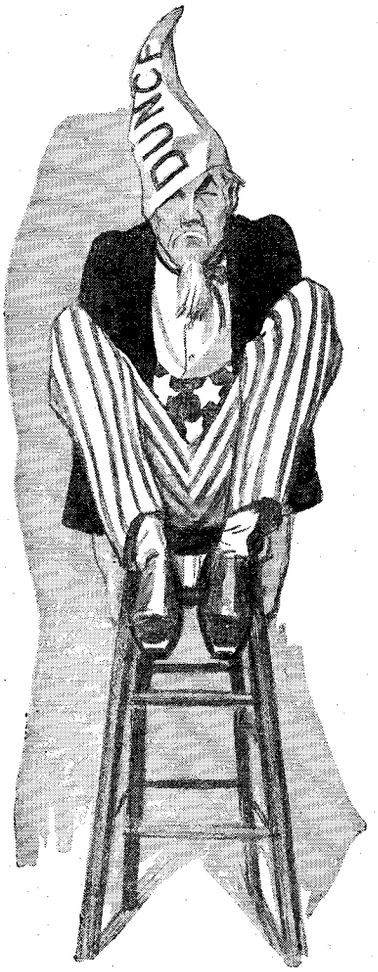

"The man who skimps education"

The Scourge of the Schools

By EDGAR W. KNIGHT

Professor Knight is a member of the staff of the School of Education of the University of North Carolina, and is now temporarily at Teachers College, Columbia University

WHEN the million school teachers and administrators, for whose services the people of this country last year spent nearly three billions of dollars, went back to their classrooms in September, most of them were less certain either of their way or their pay in this pedagogical world. They were also more nearly aware of the low public esteem in which they are held than at any time since pedagogues and pedagogy got planted on American soil.

Not only have their wages been cut right and left but almost everything they have been hired by the public to do has been denounced in recent months as aimless and ineffective if not indeed actually vain. They have been sniped at openly as never before, and the cry has been that much of what is called education and many of the educators are altogether barren. It is not amazing, therefore, that so many of those who go about the Middletowns teaching should be distraught. It appears that they and their work are now being tried as by fire.

The slashing of educational budgets has naturally flustered the school teachers and managers, but their terror is not due altogether to the fact that so many of them have been cut off with a shilling. True, the suddenness of the slashes startled them. Moreover, there was an extraordinary strangeness about the use of this method by the public to meet difficulties arising out of the economic depression. If such a means of public economy has ever before been employed, even in times of emergencies and depressions, the records do not clearly reveal the period or place. On the contrary, they show that in other dark times in the United States (and in Europe, too) plans were made for enlarging rather than restricting public educational opportunity; witness in the history of this country the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the recent World War and several other periods of uncertainty and panic. But not so now; and the fear that the public may now have lost some of its earlier faith in education probably distresses the teachers and managers of schools no less than the loss in their own wages.

In the last regular sessions of forty-four state legislatures it was evident that not only would advanced school legislation be impossible to enact but that the schools would find it difficult to retain the financial support they had gained in recent years. The legislatures seemed to close their eyes and swing the ax, and one of the first places it hit heavily was education. Appropriations to schools, colleges and universities were greatly reduced, salaries of teachers were cut from five to twenty-five per cent, the teaching load of the teachers and the size of classes were increased, school terms were shortened, building programs were held up or abandoned altogether, the annual increments in the salaries of teachers were denied, and many teachers returned to their work in September without contracts, not knowing the amount of salary they would receive or the length of the school term.

Some legislatures even failed to provide revenue sufficient for the appropriations which they made for education and at least one declined to do so, "with full knowledge of its consequences," so reckless did it become in the closing days of its unusually lengthy and erratic session. Cities that formerly had nine or ten months' schooling annually may this year find it impossible to provide more than six or seven. Chicago, where finances have been notoriously muddled, needs to trim from its payrolls by the end of the year two and a half millions by docking its employees fourteen days' pay and nearly a million from its school budget by lengthening the Christmas vacation and by engaging no additional teachers to take care of the normal increase in pupils. Hunger and destitution menaced the homes of 14,000 teachers and other school board employees, some of whom had not been paid for three months in the Chicago that "boasts a $20,000,000 opera house, a $100,000,000 lake front park and a modernistic world's fair in the making, but cannot pay the men and women who instruct its children."

DEBTS, deficits and the depression are pointed to as the causes of the crisis facing education, as a result of the extraordinary economy measures of the public, but the teachers and managers of the schools do not look upon such actions as expressions of public confidence in the victorious outcome of education. Instead they believe that they are being punished by the public.

They look upon the strange and sudden reaction against public school support, which in most American states has been generous in recent years, as a protest against some theories and practices which the public does not approve either as sound economics or sound education. There has been a cry against alleged waste of public school funds, expensive and ornate school buildings, and fads and frills in the curriculum, for which the public has been heavily taxed. The messages of some governors contained protests against such practices and recommendations for prompt, and in many cases very large, reductions in public school expenditures. Some legislatures went beyond the suggestions of the governors for "intelligent economy" and by unintelligent reductions in educational support set the schools back many years and lowered the morale of those who teach and manage them.

Moreover, these hired men and women of the community have been severely censured by the high priests in

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education—those who set the styles in pedagogy. These professional educational experts have condemned, often out of hand, almost every feature of the democratic theory and practice of public education which has so long been one of the proud boasts of the United States. Most of this criticism has been made in recent months. The elementary school has been attacked for its low standards of discipline and the chaos of its curriculum, as well as its inadequately trained teachers and the fact (apparently only recently discovered) that most of them are women. The secondary school has been assailed as an educational fetish and an arid and purposeless luxury, which is every year costing the American public immense sums.

Higher education has been condemned by those who should know. One of the critics, a former president of a large state university, told a multitude of school workers during the past summer that the colleges of this country were headed straight for the bow-wows. He denounced as superficial and unintelligent the present method of admitting students to college and asserted that it would be possible to "pick the most reactive mice or chickens or dogs by the method we use today to pick our college students and by which we retain them." Coëducation he declared unsafe at the present time because it spoils more students than it helps; automobiles and liquor he pointed to as other partners of the "charming combination" which, along with an easy curriculum, the leisureliness of the students, fraternities—those "splendid centers of hypocrisy"—and the autocracy of professional coaches, afflicts higher education and makes for deterioration and cultural death.

An eminent professor of education, whose name is almost a household word throughout the world, called compulsory education a foolish arrangement, likening it to a drunken man "who scatters coins among a crowd." He said that it would be far better to spend public funds on people of promise rather than on morons and dullards who would be happier if left alone. Other masters rebuked the teachers for self-satisfaction and inertia which, with other weaknesses, were taking the school system of the United States "along the lazy path to degeneration"; charged the schools with the spread of crime, the rapidly mounting divorce rate, and the prevalence of political corruption; declared that too many educational administrators are opportunists who move along with the current; that "teachers are little more than automatons, little better than employees, in the factory sense of the word"; and that the public school system of the United States is based upon "the false belief that the education of children and of young people can provide a guarantee for a desirable quality of adult life and citizenship."

ANOTHER distinguished educationalist in recent months asserted that from thirty to fifty per cent of the subject matter now taught in American schools should be eliminated, but he failed to prescribe the proper substitution, an omission that left hundreds of teachers as dismayed at the end as they were at the beginning.

The new educational plan of the University of Chicago was frowned upon as defective by another eminent educational expert although he praised it as better than many other proposals for higher education. It would be possible, he said, for an individual to complete this new program "with honors, and still be broken down in health, personally disagreeable, vocationally a misfit, unfitted for home life, morally a menace to society, politically a grafter, and emotionally so unhappy as to be on the verge of suicide." So young scholars on the Midway Plaisance are now inferentially warned that they must choose between destruction by Capone's cruel gangsters or the daring plan of President Hutchins. These and similar violent attacks upon what the teachers and managers of the schools are doing must have made them feel that they were being spanked not only for extravagance but for groping about in a pedagogical swamp.

But the present discomfiture of the teachers results not alone from a sudden wage reduction by a public that charged them with profligacy of blood money—euphoniously called the means of collective purchasing, assessments for social well-being, and the like, but known by John the Commonweal as taxes, pure or impure and simple—or from rebukes by the professional educationalists. The laity and the press have added to the frustration of those who have charge of the public's largest business. An intelligent layman summarized one of the recent programs of a national educational association by reporting (a bit whimsically perhaps) that three speakers, public school superintendents, said in substance: the first, "We do not know what we are trying to do"; the second, "We do not know how to do it"; and the last, "But we need more money for the schools."

A discerning editor of a very influential newspaper in a state that recently

(Continued on Page 448)

"The legislatures seemed to close their eyes and swing the ax, and one of the first places it hit heavily was education."

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How T. R. Took Panama

Twelfth Installment of Roosevelt: A Biography

By HENRY F. PRINGLE

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"I took Panama without consulting the Cabinet," he wrote in his memoirs. Hardly more than an hour after he had word of the successful revolution, the President recognized the new Republic and later landed Marines to preserve order, as told in this installment. But a growing feeling that Colombia had been wronged finally resulted two decades later in payment of an indemnity to that nation. Next week, Roosevelt's correspondence with the German Kaiser will be described, as well as his last tilts with Congress—for his reign was drawing to an end

•

While Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla were busy with plans for a revolution in Panama in the summer and fall of 1903, President Roosevelt was giving consideration to a solution of his own. Virtuously he "cast aside . . . . the proposition to foment the secession of Panama." The United States could not, "by such underhanded means," encourage a revolt against Colombia. The President admitted, however, in communicating these views to Dr. Albert Shaw on October 10, 1903, that he would "be delighted if Panama were an independent state . . . ."

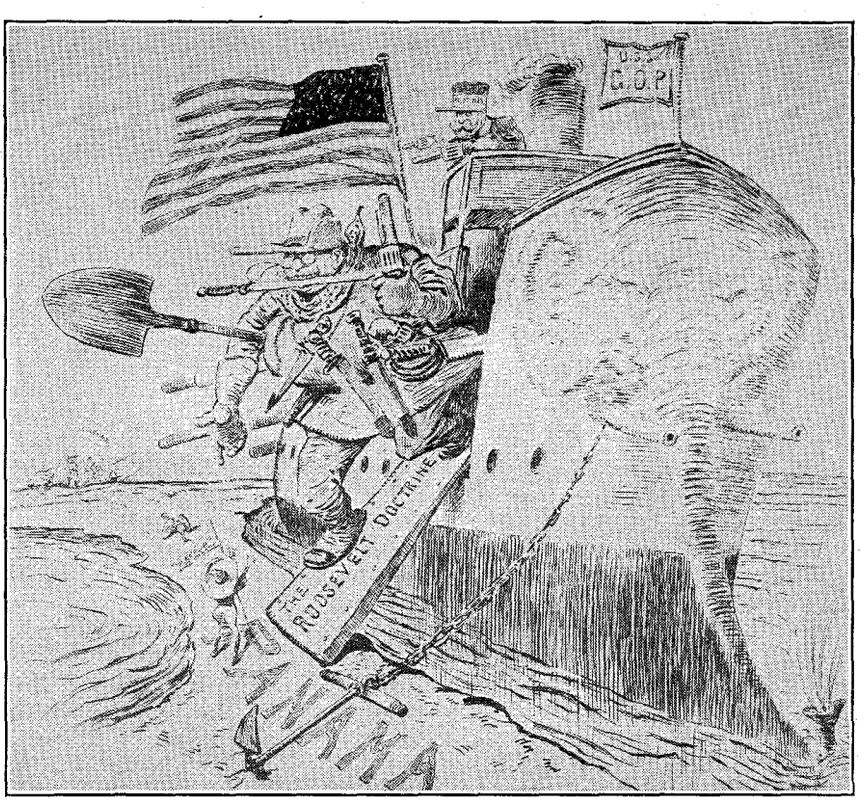
Three days before the United States Senate confirmed the Hay-Herran treaty in March, 1903, Roosevelt prepared for possible trouble with Colombia. He ordered Secretary of War Root to send two or three army officers "to map out and gather information concerning the coasts of those portions of South America which would be of especial interest . . . . in the event of any struggle in the Gulf of Mexico or the Caribbean Sea." Work on the canal might soon start and data on Venezuela, Colombia and the Guianas would be valuable. The officers, he directed, should go in civilian dress.

These were merely precautionary measures. Roosevelt still counted upon ratification by Colombia. When the "foolish and homicidal corruptionists" actually rejected the too generous offer of the United States, the President was unwilling to rely on the prospect of a revolution. This might fail, inasmuch as the United States could not openly assist in the plans. An alternative solution was transmitted to Roosevelt on August 15, 1903, three days after the rash action by Bogotá. Francis B. Loomis, First Assistant Secretary of State, forwarded a memorandum drafted by Professor John Bassett Moore of Columbia University and said that it contained "strong and well supported suggestions . . . . which may be of very great importance." Roosevelt agreed as to their importance. Four days later, from Sagamore Hill where he was resting from the heat of Washington, he sent the memorandum to John Hay. The "Bogotá lot of corruptionists," he wrote, should not be permitted "permanently to bar one of the future highways of civilization." It was evident that some new plan for a canal across Panama was taking shape in Roosevelt's mind.

The memorandum from Dr. Moore vanished for some years and was a subject for speculation by historians. A copy is among the Roosevelt papers at the Library of Congress, however, and it is not difficult to understand why the President promptly sent it to his Secretary of State. Dr. Moore, already an authority on international law, had independently evolved a theory which fitted admirably into Roosevelt's views on Colombia and the canal. The United States, he wrote, "in undertaking to build the canal, does a work not only for itself but for the world." If, as expert opinion agreed, Panama was the best route, "it is the one that we should have . . . . May Colombia be permitted to stand in the way?"

Dr. Moore felt that it must not and he offered an ingenious, but also a scholarly, argument in support of his belief. He pointed to the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada, a country which became the Republic of Colombia in 1863, and its clause that "the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama . . . . shall be free and open *to the Government* and citizens of the United States." This provision (Article XXXV of the Treaty of 1846) applied to "any modes of communication that now exist, or that may be hereafter constructed . . . ."

In return for this privilege, the memorandum continued, the United States guaranteed "the perfect neutrality of the . . . . isthmus, with the view



THE COUP D'ETAT

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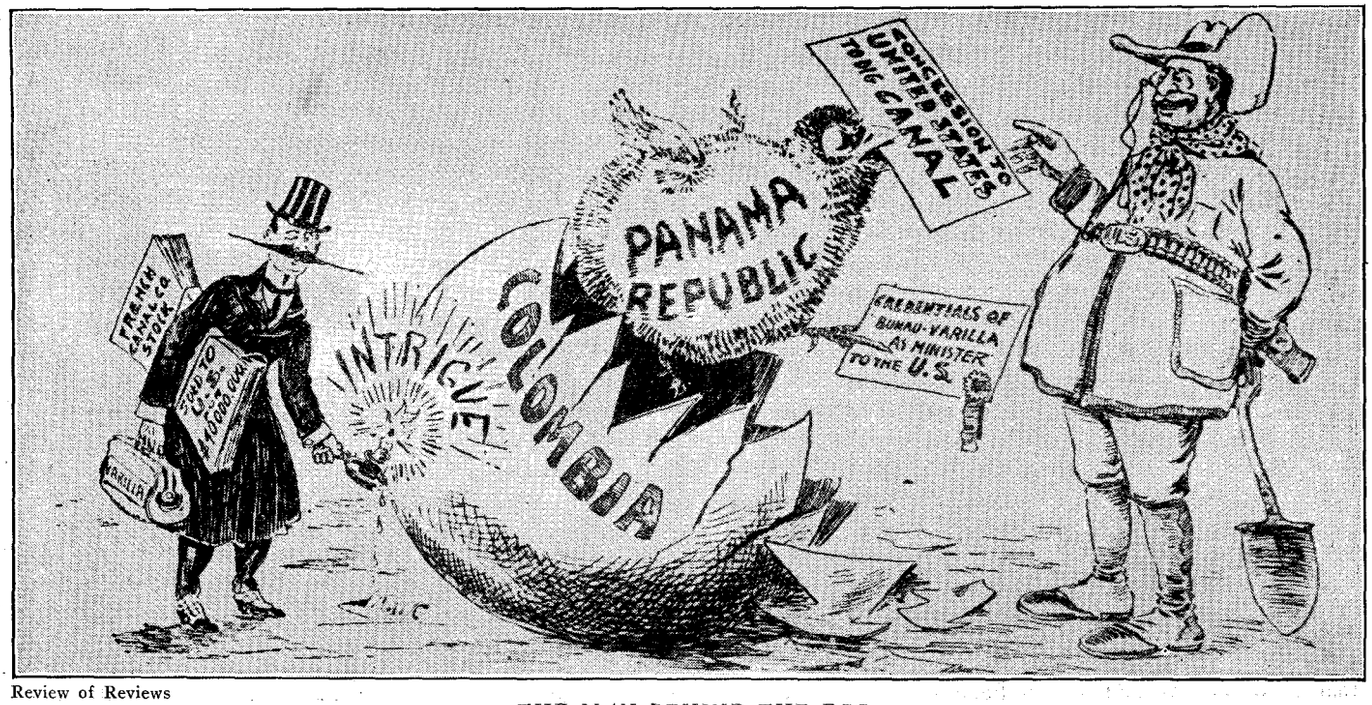

Review of Reviews

THE MAN BEHIND THE EGG

that free transit from one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time . . . . and guarantees, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory." The object in assuming this burden was to secure a canal, said Dr. Moore, and "in view of the fact that the United States has for more than fifty years secured to Colombia her sovereignty . . . . Colombia . . . . is . . . . not in a position to obstruct the building of the canal." As for technicalities or disagreement on the meaning of the treaty or international law, the memorandum said:

> . . . . Once on the ground and duly installed, this Government would find no difficulty in meeting questions as they arose. It has done so under the Treaty of 1846. Colombia's guarantee of a free and open transit has not secured it to us. We have usually found, when the emergency arose, that we were dependent upon our own resources for the enjoyment of the privileges which the treaty was designed to secure to us.
>
> The position of the United States is altogether different from that of private capitalists who, unless expressly exempted, are altogether subject to the local jurisdiction, and who, before invoking their governments' protection, *may be required to tread the paths of ordinary litigation* and establish their rights before the tribunals of the governments against which they assert them. Under such conditions, the private capitalist *must have everything beforehand nominated in the bond.* The United States is not subject to such disabilities, and can take care of the future.

The secession of Panama was to make it unnecessary to put in operation a plan based on Dr. Moore's memorandum. Roosevelt formulated it late in October in a rough draft of his message to Congress. Either Nicaragua should be substituted or "without any further parley with Colombia . . . . [we should] . . . . enter upon the completion of the canal which the French company has begun." The latter course "is the one demanded by the interest of this nation . . . . " In a private letter, Roosevelt described it more bluntly:

> . . . . If they had not revolted, I should have recommended to Congress to take possession of the Isthmus by force of arms; and . . . . I had actually written the first draft of my message to this effect . . . .

INCITING the "most just and proper revolution," as Roosevelt described it, was a task which took all the skill of Bunau-Varilla, Cromwell and the other conspirators. The faltering courage of Panamanian patriots had to be fortified by promises that the United States would, in spirit and probably actively, be behind them. Gold with which to bribe the Colombian troops had to be supplied. It was necessary to point out that the $10,000,000 to be paid by the United States would, in the event of independence, go to Panama and not to Colombia. This $10,000,000 could be spent as the sons of liberty saw fit.

In considering the relation of the United States to the revolution, and thereby the part played by Roosevelt, it is important to recall that Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell were men who commanded the ear of John Hay, of Senator Hanna and of the President himself. The former, because he was clever and active and well-informed, could pass at will among the members of the administration. The latter, as befitted a Republican who had given $60,000 to the last campaign chest, was equally well received. So, during 1903, these two worked zealously and to great effect. Roosevelt did nothing to incite the revolution, perhaps, but he was extremely well-informed regarding the plans.

The first hint regarding them came in June, 1903. Colombia had not yet acted on the Hay-Herran treaty when a curiously prophetic item appeared in the New York *World*. A dispatch from Washington stated, without giving an authority, that President Roosevelt was determined to have the Panama route. But Washington had been informed that Colombia did not propose to ratify and had received the further information that "Panama stands ready to secede . . . . and enter into a canal treaty with the United States." The dispatch concluded with the news that on that day, June 13, 1903, William Nelson Cromwell had "a long conversation with the President." Subsequently, this aroused much interest and was offered as proof that Roosevelt had fomented the revolution. It eventually became known, however, that the dispatch had been inspired by a press agent for Cromwell and its purpose had been to frighten Colombia into signing the Hay-Herran agreement. The occurrence, together with a second visit by Cromwell to the White House on October 7, 1903,

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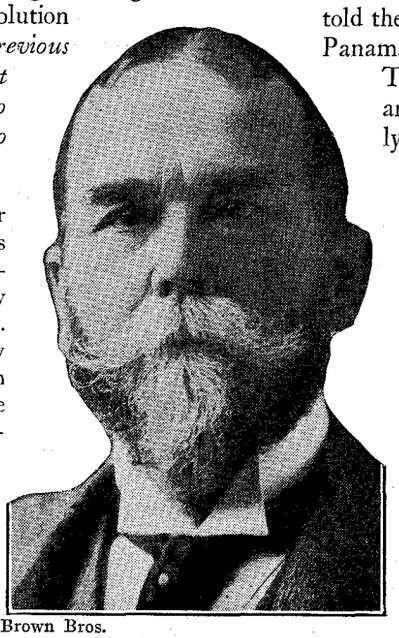
is of interest principally in connection with Roosevelt's ultimate insistence that "no one connected with this government had any part in preparing, inciting or *encouraging* the revolution . . . . *no one had any previous knowledge . . . . except such as was available to any person . . . . who read the newspapers:*

. . . . I do not remember whether Mr. Cromwell was . . . . among my callers during the months immediately preceding the revolution. But if he was, I certainly did not discuss with him anything connected with the revolution. I do not remember his ever speaking to me about the revolution until after it occurred, and my understanding was and is, that he had nothing to do with the revolutionary movement . . . .



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JOHN HAY
Secretary of State during the Panama negotiations

Surely Roosevelt was not as naïve as all that. It is inconceivable that a President so well-informed on other subjects did not know about Cromwell's activities. Such a statement places a severe strain upon my theory that Roosevelt was not consciously untruthful. In recording with pride the means by which he brought independence to Panama, Bunau-Varilla enumerated conferences with Loomis, with Hay and with the President. He saw Roosevelt on October 9 and predicted a revolution.

"A revolution?" murmured Roosevelt, thinking of his own plan to seize Panama by force. "Would it be possible? But if it became a reality, what would become of the plan we had thought of?"

Roosevelt not only knew, in a general way, of the conspiracy; he was considering what action the United States would take when it came and whether, under the Treaty of 1846, Colombia could be prevented from putting down the rebellion. He even received memoranda from the State Department to the effect that Colombian officers and soldiers had not been paid for weeks, were close to starvation and therefore open to bribery. Finally he had confidential reports from two of the army officers who had been detailed to the South American coast and the Caribbean. Roosevelt admitted that Captain Thomas B. Humphrey and Lieutenant Grayson M-P. Murphy had been to Panama—"on their own initiative (and without my knowledge)"—and had learned that a revolution would take place the end of October or early in November. No one at Washington, he said, had told them of the possibility that Panama would secede.

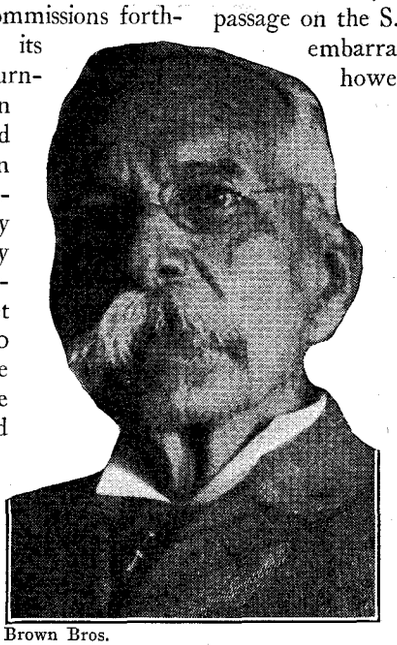
The youthful Lieutenant Murphy, subsequently the head of Grayson M-P. Murphy & Company of Wall Street, has recalled his visit to Panama. While the two officers were in Venezuela during July, 1903, Captain Humphrey received word from a friend in Washington that anything regarding Panama which could be learned would be of interest to the War Department. This was quite unofficial, but on the strength of it, Colonel Murphy recalls, they hurried to Panama, where they accumulated facts regarding the probable revolution. The prospects for Panamanian freedom looked so bright, indeed, that Humphrey and Murphy debated the wisdom of resigning their army commissions forthwith and assisting in its consummation. On returning to Washington in October, they considered a visit to J. P. Morgan & Company to ask financial assistance. They were prepared to supply the revolution if Morgan would agree to let them have $100,000 each as their share of the $10,000,000 which the United States would turn over to Panama.

On the night of October 16, however, the officers were summoned to the White House. President Roosevelt cautioned them to say nothing about seeing him and questioned them exhaustively on the data they had obtained on the isthmus. He astonished both officers by his knowledge of the topography of the country. They gathered from the conversation that Roosevelt intended some sort of action, but he said nothing to indicate that the government was taking part in the revolution. Nor did he ask them when it would take place. After an hour, Murphy and Humphrey left, their dream of participation gone.

"There goes our revolution," Murphy said. "I sail for the Philippines."

The plans of Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla, meanwhile, were making progress. The usefulness of the New York attorney lay partly in the fact that the Panama Railroad and Steamship Company was owned by his clients, the New Panama Canal Company. It had agents in Panama City and Colon who were to be very useful in hastening the day when, according to Roosevelt, "the people of Panama rose literally as one man" against the tyranny of Bogotá. During the summer of 1903 this rising tide of patriotism was barely discernible to the two major conspirators.

One of the patriots was Dr. Manuel Amador de Guerrero, who had shortened his name to Manuel Amador and who was, by strange coincidence, physician to Mr. Cromwell's Panama Railroad and Steamship Company. The railroad physician aspired to the status of George Washington of the Republic of Panama, and he went to New York early in September, 1903, to determine whether funds and support were forthcoming. It was a poverty-stricken cause at that time; Dr. Amador, taking passage on the S.S. *Segurance*, had been embarrassed for funds. Happily, however, the doctor was an excellent poker player and he managed to win enough during the voyage north to take rooms at the Hotel Endicott in New York.



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DR. MANUEL AMADOR
The poker-playing physician who became the first President of Panama

But Cromwell, to whom Amador looked for aid, had grown somewhat cautious. A leak had developed and Herran, the Colombian chargé at Washington, had telegraphed his government on September 4, 1903, that the United States was undoubtedly in favor of a revolution. Amador encountered a distressing coolness when he called at the offices of Sullivan & Cromwell, and it was not until M. Bunau-Varilla arrived from France on September 23 that the prospects of assistance rose. Until then, the Frenchman had been carrying on negotiations from Paris.

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Now, he established himself in Room 1162 of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel; a room, he wrote, which "deserves to be considered as the cradle of the Panama Republic." Having seen Roosevelt on October 9 and finding encouragement —although no pledge was given—in the attitude of the President, Bunau-Varilla called upon John Hay. The Secretary of State, Bunau-Varilla recalled, said that "we shall not be caught napping . . . . orders have been given to naval forces in the Pacific to sail toward the isthmus." This was precisely what Bunau-Varilla wanted to hear. He returned, greatly encouraged, to Room 1162.

On October 14 Dr. Amador presented himself at the shrine in the Waldorf. He received full instructions. Bunau-Varilla would supply $100,000 for the preliminary expenses of a revolution to be staged on November 3, 1903—election day in the United States. He was handed a draft of Panama's new constitution, a code whereby the rebels could communicate with the cradle of their liberty, a proclamation of independence and, most important of all, a message to be sent as soon as Truth had triumphed against Passion and Panama was free. This message was an appeal to Bunau-Varilla to become, though a citizen of France, first Panamanian Minister to the United States. On this point Bunau-Varilla was firm, although Amador protested that the selection of a foreigner might offend the nationalistic pride of the yet unborn republic.

"Nothing remains but to make the model of the flag," said Bunau-Varilla as he ushered Amador out of Room 1162. "I am going tomorrow to join my family . . . . I shall find . . . . the agile and discreet fingers that will make a new flag."

On the following day, a Sunday, Mme. Bunau-Varilla, the Betsy Ross of Panama, secreted herself and stitched "the flag of liberation." It was, her husband felt as he gazed on its folds, a fitting emblem; very much like that of the United States, but with yellow instead of white for the background and with two suns in place of stars. He recalled with irritation that the ungrateful government of Panama ultimately decided to change this design.

It is lamentable that Roosevelt, whose sense of humor and love for the dramatic would have been gratified, was denied detailed knowledge of these preparations. While Bunau-Varilla waited at the Waldorf, while Cromwell left for Paris to be near his clients, lesser conspirators were busy in mosquito-infested Panama. Amador, sailing southward on the S.S. *Yucatan*, the identical vessel which had borne Roosevelt and his Rough Riders to Cuba in 1898, arrived at Colon on October 27, 1903, and was greeted at the wharf by H. G. Prescott, an employee of the Panama Railroad and Steamship Company. The patriots met that night at the home of Frederico Boyd and soon were expressing disgust at the meager assurances brought back by Amador. Why had he not obtained a secret treaty of defense signed by Hay? How were they to know that the United States would really save them from the wrath of Bogotá?

"You are an old man," protested Tomas Arias, " . . . . and you don't care if you are hung. I do not like to be hung."

THANKSGIVING ON THE ISTHMUS
President Marroquin's share of the turkey

THIS reasonable sentiment was echoed by others. To make matters worse, word came that Colombian troops had been despatched to reinforce the garrison on the isthmus. Depressed and alarmed, Amador cabled Bunau-Varilla on October 28 that the Bogotán forces would arrive at Colon on November 2 or 3. If the revolution was to have a chance of success, an American warship must be rushed to the scene. Like Mark Twain's Yankee in the Court of King Arthur, Bunau-Varilla decided to predict the movement of forces over which he had no actual control. Instead of an almanac to determine the hour of an eclipse, he had the newspapers. He had read that the U.S.S. *Dixie* had sailed from Philadelphia, ostensibly for Guantanamo. The U.S.S. *Nashville* was off Kingston, ready to steam for the isthmus. On October 29 Bunau-Varilla was again in Washington and told every one of importance whom he could reach that the revolution would take place on November 3. On the train carrying him back to New York on the following day, he indulged in some calculations. The *Nashville*, about 500 miles from the isthmus, could steam at ten knots and so would arrive within two and a half days. During the interview with Hay on October 16, he had been told that two other vessels would rush toward the isthmus from San Francisco. Bunau-Varilla felt, in view of his knowledge, that the rôle of prophet was safe. He telegraphed Amador that one warship would arrive at Colon, on the Atlantic side, within two days. Within four days, two other American vessels would drop anchor at Panama on the Pacific side.

His cable gave heart to the conspirators and they set November 4, presumably to allow the *Nashville* plenty of time, as the day on which the blow for liberty would be struck. Señorita Maria Amelia de la Ossa, a lady engaged to be married to the brother of Prescott of the railroad company, was commissioned to design a new flag. J. Gabriel Duqué, owner of the Panama *Star and Herald*, was placed in charge of 287 members of the Fire Brigade at Panama City and drilled them for battle. Three hundred section hands of the Panama Railroad were mustered into service at Colon.

The strategy of the revolution was not complicated. General Huertas, in command of the Colombian troops at Panama City, was to be commander-in-chief. His men were to be bribed for $50 a head. An arrangement was effected whereby José Domingo de Obaldia, Governor of Panama, would consent to

(Continued on Page 445)

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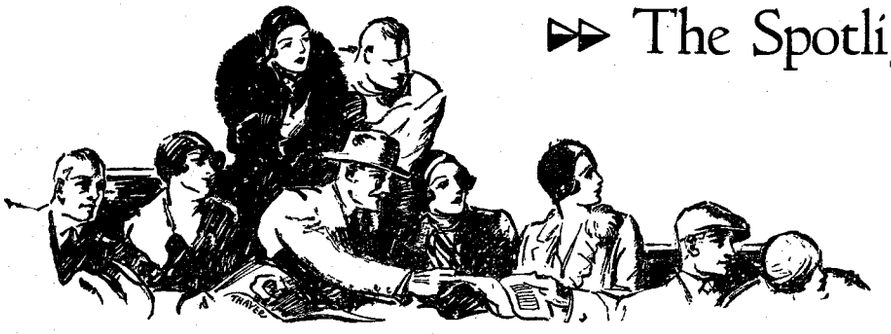
The Spotlight on Sports



The Bulldog Wins

TWO HIGHLY TOUTED football favorites rode to a fall last Saturday. Notre Dame, a 3-1 favorite over Southern California, and Harvard, a 10-6 choice against Yale, came a cropper. This double-barreled upset left the "experts" bewildered and hunting for alibis.

At Cambridge the "wise money" was bet on Yale. When traditional rivals are as closely matched as Harvard and Yale in personnel and season records, it is well to lay off the odds-on-favorite—particularly if it shoulders the mental burden of an undefeated season.

Yale had tied Dartmouth and Army—teams which lost to Harvard by one thin point. Certainly there was no basis in those figures to justify Harvard overconfidence. Psychology is not to be sneered at. It favored the underdog Elis. The Boston papers outdid themselves in catering to Harvard readers. "Crimson Set To Smear Yale" was a typical headline. Perhaps Barry Wood's boys read the sport pages. If so, they can hardly be blamed for absorbing a false sense of their own prowess.

The Harvard artist who designed the program cover for the Yale game did his bit toward heightening the illusion of Crimson dominance. He tempted fate when he depicted John Harvard astride the knife-scarred Yale Fence. After that insult, it was Albie Booth's cue to boot Old Jonathan off that elm-shaded perch and claim the seat reserved for Yale captains.

Unquestionably the three weeks' layoff which Yale enjoyed following the Dartmouth seesaw gave the Elis a verve and zest which they had lacked in previous Harvard games. Last Saturday Yale displayed a vibrant, quick-trigger eagerness that has been missing under the old "Princeton first" arrangement. For the first time in years Harvard's line didn't consistently get the jump on Yale's forwards. That scrimmage jump, sometimes only half a step, decides football games. Tired youngsters, nervously exhausted, cannot get across the neutral zone in time to harry a forward passer. At Cambridge the well rested Elis didn't allow Barry Wood much time to get set for his needle-threading passes.

Instead of losing "the feel of contact," as some conditioners feared, Yale's players stored up useful energy. They were coming strong at the finish. Sneer all you please at the rest cure—it won the Harvard game and that's all Yale cares about. Princeton will catch Yale on the rebound, but it isn't apt to do the Tigers much good. Princeton has won exactly one game all the present football season. Shades of Lamar, Poe, Moffatt and DeWitt!

Convict Football

SING SING PRISON has gone in for football, thus giving the convicts a chance to "build character" (as the coaches say).

The Sing Sing players don't wear horizontal stripes of black and white—that's the Groton school jersey, by the way—but they do have a zebra for a mascot. The zebra is synthetic—the genuine African article being somewhat expensive and zoo keepers not disposed to loan their striped quadrupeds. However, some black and white paint judiciously applied to a pony base resulted in a tolerably realistic substitute. Little Miss Lawes, ten-year-old daughter of the warden, rode the animal at the head of the prison band before the opening game in which Sing Sing defeated the Ossining Naval Militia 33-0.

Football at Sing Sing College has some unique aspects. The Hudson River institution boasts a large alumni body but these old grads don't attend the games—if they can help it—nor do they plague the head coach with advice or seek to buy his contract.

Furthermore, Coach "Red" Hope doesn't share the qualms of his colleagues on the outside as to the tenure of his job. It's too secure. Win or lose, he's at Sing Sing for thirty years. The Hope system is thus assured a fair test.

Reporters who cover Sing Sing games are searched as they enter the grounds, but that's no novelty. They've been frisked for cameras at Harvard these many years. The press box isn't roofed for the good reason that there is no stadium to put a press box on, but give Sing Sing time. Football is only a month old up at Ossining. It took Harvard twenty-eight years to get around to building a stadium!

Coach "Red" Hope is affable to sports writers. "Our system here at Sing Sing," he said, "is based on the Pop Warner principle—shake a man free if possible. We play a strictly home schedule; don't have to worry about getting acclimated. For West Point's benefit I may say that we have no three-year rule. That puts us in the same football class as Army.

"Unfortunately I'm going to lose my best guard next season but my backfield is intact for the next five years. We call them the four Zebras. They run behind an unbalanced line.

"We can't offer any athletic scholarships but we do provide free board and lodging. Don't tell the Carnegie Foundation about that. Our training table serves good, plain meals and a bright lad can wait on table or stoke the furnace here just as he could at any college. What we need now is a good Alma Mater song and a snappy cheer. The boys don't like the sound of 'Hold 'em, Sing Sing!' "

End of the Reign

EVERYTHING has to end, even Notre Dame winning streaks. The two greatest football squads in America met on Notre Dame's home grounds last Saturday and Southern California squared accounts for that 1930 humiliation.

It was the first defeat for Notre Dame since 1928, when these same Trojans turned the trick. This reverse is probably a good thing for both Notre Dame and football. Knute Rockne used to say that an occasional defeat helped stiffen character, but he rarely put his theory to the touch.

Notre Dame's victory march stopped at twenty-five straight. That's a lot of games to win without a break. Laid end to end they would stretch almost as far as the Nomad team has travelled via rail. Repetition becomes monotonous. "Irish" victories had begun to cloy, even though achieved by Celts who bore such strange names as Schwartz, Kosky, Kurth, Yarr, Shekeetski, Melinkovich,

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Banas and Jaskwhich. Neutrals were getting fed up with South Bend successes. Even the Notre Dame coaches and players must feel a certain relief. A winning streak like that is a terrible strain on the nerves.

Not the actual defeat but the manner of it galled Notre Dame pride. To blow a 14-0 lead with one quarter to go is enough to make a less formidable football organization than Notre Dame hopping mad. The truth is, however, that Southern California had outrushed the Fighting Polacks by a wide margin only to muff scoring chances. The Far Westerners had those 16 points coming to them.

GEORGE TREVOR.

Manchuria : A Japanese View

(Continued from Page 429)

lenged, would ultimately ruin Japanese enterprise as well. Japan long ago saw plain the handwriting on the wall, but restrained herself until she has been unwillingly forced to appeal to the right of self-defence.

Such is the situation—a situation which should have been more carefully considered at Geneva. The League of Nations might have remembered that it had taken China and Russia almost half a year to arrive at a preliminary agreement by direct negotiations to end the Soviet military operations in North Manchuria in a dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929. That agreement, signed at Khabarovsk, Siberia, on December 22, 1929, restored the *status quo ante* of the railway in compliance with the Soviet demand. Not until then did Russia evacuate the Chinese territory she had since July occupied along that railway for some 200 miles from Manchuria to Hailar in the west and for fifty miles from Pogranichnaya to Mulin in the east. In the present instance, the League, by denying Japan an opportunity to open direct negotiations with China, has given the impression that it has approved of China's repudiation of treaty obligations vital to Japan's existence. It seems as if the Chinese have been encouraged in their denial of Japan's right to partnership in the development of Manchuria. As the Japanese are firmly convinced that Manchuria is Chinese only because they fought Russia for it at an appalling sacrifice, it is useless to hope that they will recede from their position, and the League, if it insists upon Japan's unconditional withdrawal, will only serve to stiffen those elements which believe that China respects nothing but force.

The Week in Business

Marking Time

BUSINESS dug in last week and held its trench line but made no advance. Reduced car loadings and a slight recession in commodity prices were offset by improvement in the petroleum outlook and an encouraging flow of orders to the shoe manufacturers in both the New England and St. Louis centers.

Another favorable sign was a continuation of the replenishment of our gold stocks. The statement of gold transactions reported by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for November 21 showed a net gain of $9,916,000 to the gold stocks of the country. Most of the day's gain was credited to San Francisco, where $7,347,000 in gold was received from Japan and $1,091,000 from Australia. At the same time the dollar continued to advance in the foreign exchange market. Abroad, the Swiss franc and the Dutch guilder rose, while sterling, the French franc, the mark and the lira declined.

The investment markets were decidedly weak, particularly on November 20 when Steel common dropped to sixty and five-eighths, the lowest level reached since July, 1915. There is no denying the fact that New York is still the country's chief center of pessimism in regard to general business. Reports of improved conditions come in from Boston, Atlanta, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas and San Francisco. But they find no echo in Manhattan. New York refuses to believe that business has yet shown any real improvement, and this attitude is perfectly reflected in the continued gloomy behavior of Wall Street. Everything, it seems, from warm weather in November to the Notre Dame debacle, is used as a bear argument.

INDICES

(A two-minute summary)

COMMODITY PRICES (Fisher's Index—1926=100) November 19—68.6. (Crump's British Index—1926 =100) November 19—66.9.

CAR LOADINGS (American Railway Assn.) Week ended November 7—717,029 cars (reduction of 23,334 under preceding week and of 164,488 under same week of 1930).

STEEL INGOT PRODUCTION Week ended November 14 —31% of capacity (same as preceding week; reduction of 12% under same week of 1930).

CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION Week ended November 14 —daily average gross 2,464,050 barrels (increase of 7,250 over preceding week and of 159,500 over same week of 1930).

BANK CLEARINGS (as reported to Bradstreet's) Week ended November 19—$6,253,208,000 (increase of 13.6% over preceding week; reduction of 29.5% under same week of 1930).

FAILURES (as reported to R. G. Dun & Co.) Week ended November 19—588 (increase of 57 over preceding week and of 19 over same week of 1930).

Copper Comes a Cropper

DUE chiefly to the uncoöperative attitude assumed by the Katanga interests, another attempt at world stabilization of the copper industry has failed. If the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, the largest single copper-producing enterprise in the world, had been willing to play ball, the recent conference might have put the entire industry on a sound and profitable basis. But it was not, and the result is the plunging of the copper-producing nations of the world into a bitter tariff war.

In the United States the smaller producers were in favor of a tariff even before the recent conference began. The larger ones, however, own foreign properties and are therefore not so keen about the erection of a tariff wall. Kennecott,

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for example, controls the important Braden mine in Chile. Anaconda has the Andes and Chile mines, with extensive low-cost production workings.

According to figures prepared by the Department of Commerce, our exports of copper largely exceeded imports until the year 1928. In 1929 exports and imports were about equal, and in 1930 imports exceeded exports by about 30,000 tons. Figures now available indicate that the percentage of imports will be even larger for 1931.

It is hard to figure out what our producers can do except ask for tariff protection. Canada, a large producer, already has a tariff wall. The British Board of Trade is apparently getting ready to build one. Our Tariff Commission has studied the copper problem and will probably report on it at the coming session of Congress. The sad fact is that Katanga has knifed coöperation and helped to extend the unenlightened rule of competition.

▸▸ *Vagaries — Series 27*

SEVERAL members of the International Vagaries Association, Uninc., have complained that we have not done right by them lately. The irregularity, dear members, has been due to pressure of other material with a consequent restriction of our space. We hasten to continue with:

1. Ingenuity of farmers in Montana and North Dakota. Lacking money for tractor gasoline they have evolved the clever plan of using horses for plowing.

2. Establishment of a plant in Glasgow for the manufacture of spun glass, or "glass silk," to provide material for heat insulation in ships, locomotives and engine rooms.

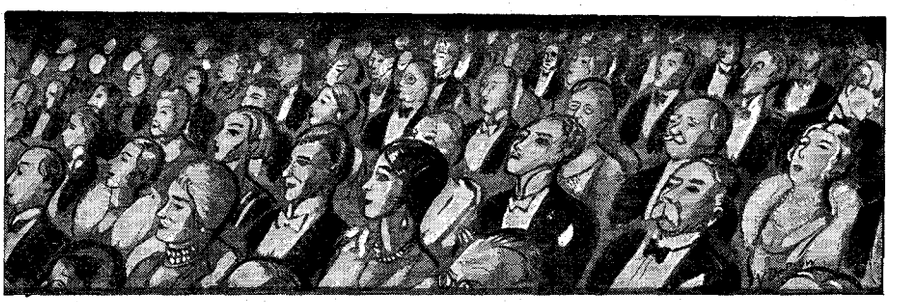
3. Return, with a box of candy as interest, of a nickel borrowed two years ago of a Philadelphia representative of the Travelers' Aid Society. The coin was used for a telephone call, which produced a job and finally enabled the borrower to repay his debt.

4. Invention by Paul H. MacNeil of Huntington, Long Island, of a sextant which detects infra-red rays and enables navigators by sea or air to "shoot the sun" even when it is hidden by clouds or fog.

5. Contribution of the new millinery to recovery of the steel industry. Pittsburgh and Chicago are receiving generous orders from New England woolen mills and hat factories, due to demand for the Eugenie variant of the brown derby. This appears to be a case of "no loss without some small gain."

FRANK A. FALL.

▸▸ The Latest Plays ◂◂



A MORE static and rhetorical play than *The Lady with a Lamp* you would have to seek far and wide to find. Move? It never budges. All it does is to narrate in eight utterly undramatic and loosely connected scenes some events in the life of Florence Nightingale. We are told that it ran for twenty-two weeks in London. The word "ran" is perhaps not the right one. Lay there would be more apt. Just so long as the personages on the stage purport to be of sufficient eminence—no matter how soporific the offering—it seems that enough British customers can be found to make the exhibition of such a show profitable.

The tragedy of it is that such a turgid and pretentious effort should have to be the means of introducing Edith Evans at this late date to America. For years she has been eminent abroad and I have long wondered why we were not privileged to see her here. The only living English-speaking actress I have seen whom I would be inclined even to discuss as being technically on a par with Miss Evans is Nazimova—and that only by a slight stretching of the term, English-speaking. In *The Way of the World* I have seen her as the most charming, witty and graceful Millamant imaginable and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* her Mistress Page was roguish, robust winsomeness incarnate. In *The Lady with a Lamp*, in spite of the fact that she has no action to help her, she contrives to give us an amazingly vital portrait of an outwardly noble but inherently selfish woman who bent every one to her will and achieved what she set out to do for womankind and the human race in general with no regard for the feelings or the health of those with whom she came into personal contact. Three more widely differing parts than these it would be hard to discover, but in each case Miss Evans *became* the character she was portraying without the assistance of any of the obvious physical characteristics. I only hope she can soon be found a good play in which to display her great gifts to American audiences. Before ceasing my discussion of the *Lady with a Lamp*, I should note that in addition to the participation of Edith Evans it has skilful direction by Leslie Banks and a fine performance by Patricia Collinge to help it along.

More brilliant acting is lavished on *Reunion in Vienna*, the Theatre Guild's production of Robert E. Sherwood's comedy. Alfred Lunt is at his best and Lynn Fontanne's teamwork is all that he or the author could desire. Good performances are also contributed by Helen Westley and Henry Travers and, as the piece is never solemn but always gay, a delightful entertainment is the result. Mr. Sherwood might perhaps have delved a little deeper into his characters without slowing things up perceptibly, but in this season of six-hour pseudo-Greek tragedies, depressing, if interesting, murder studies such as *Payment Deferred* and stupid burlesques like *The Social Register* nobody should be anything but grateful for a play which is sufficiently charming and witty to allow Miss Fontanne and Mr. Lunt to exhibit their incomparable deftness. In this case the story of the ex-mistress of a Hapsburg who meets him again after the war and her happy marriage to a psychoanalyst is just what they need. Those who have seen them will know what I mean; others should hasten to see them, as I'm not going to spoil their appreciation of them by entering into any labored analysis of *Reunion in Vienna*.

That mere earnestness of purpose is not the sole qualification essential to a playwright was again demonstrated in *Steel*, John Wexley's grim drama about the woes of steel-workers. Even his propaganda would have been made much more effective by an occasional touch of levity. As in his *The Last Mile*, Mr. Wexley has been realistically dramatic, but this time it is all laid on too thick—both in the writing and in the acting. The result was unintended and unwanted laughs in profusion.

OTIS CHATFIELD-TAYLOR.

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The New Movies

"Possessed"

JOAN CRAWFORD and Norma Shearer (her sister under the cloth-of-gold), are rapidly becoming the most important personalities on the screen—and I mean exactly that. Their films are among the slickest, the handsomest, the best dressed and the most scintillating produced today. To a great majority of our boys and girls they are amazingly convincing, and represent the apex of all modern thought in matters of morals and marriage. To this horrid old misanthrope they seem to be among the most pernicious movies to be seen today.

I have no objection to Joan Crawford and Clark ("Gorilla") Gable living together in sin and having a charming time the while, nor am I unduly disturbed because Miss Crawford substitutes pretty picture postcard posing for acting. What I do object to are the cheap, false, sleazy emotions which motivate the characters, their snide sophistication, and the shoddy, trashy story in which they are involved. A generation nourished on this sort of guff is going to grow up to be a horrible bore. Bad taste and phoney sentiment eat away the mind like acid, and it seems to me a dirty trick not to give the boys and girls something better to aim at. By all the old standards *Possessed* is a very "advanced" film. Unhappy in a paper box factory Joan goes to the big city looking for a rich man, and soon becomes the bejeweled mistress of an ambitious politician. All goes well until he runs for governor, when his friends tell him he must get rid of her. School girls and serving maids will pay Metro hundreds of thousands of dollars to watch this film, and dream about it for days afterward.

"Touchdown"

Here is a football movie which is entirely from the high-powered coaches' point of view. It shows you exactly how teams of ringers are hired to go out and fight for the "dear old school," and how they get fractured skulls and other permanent injuries simply to satisfy the vanity and professional ambition of ruthless coaches. Richard Arlen is the cruel coach who lets his men smash themselves up, while J. Farrell MacDonald is the older and more humane trainer. *Touchdown* actually has some ideas on a topic of wide interest—and Paramount has this department's surprised thanks and gratitude. *Touchdown* is a good show, too.

Worth Seeing

THE CHAMP: The story of a boozy old fighter and his worshipful little son—Wallace Beery and Jackie Cooper. They never go cute on you.

FIVE STAR FINAL: A bitter attack on tabloid newspapers and their methods of news-getting which has drawn a nation-wide campaign of abuse from Hearst's standard-sized papers. Edward G. Robinson is grand.

THE GUARDSMAN: Amusing nonsense by Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne of the Theatre Guild.

MONKEY BUSINESS: Raucous and slightly insane comedy by the four Marx brothers. About the best of the year.

PALMY DAYS: Eddie Cantor, another insane comic, working behind the scenes for a spiritualistic medium.

"Around the World With Douglas Fairbanks"

Being just about the most famous person alive, and having a booming voice and an easy manner, Douglas Fairbanks makes a first-rate travelogue conductor. In his present tour he takes us through Japan, China, Siam and India, sometimes merely talking offstage, and at other times actually appearing on the scene. If his film lacks the thoroughness of a Burton Holmes talk, it has a gaiety and informality which more than make up for this lack. Doug's greatest asset is the fact that he *is* Doug—that wherever he goes he is greeted as no ordinary king, envoy or ambassador is greeted. To have red carpets and dull speeches unrolled for your benefit is one thing, but to have people frantically anxious to see and talk to you is another. Doug shows you how a very pretty Japanese girl makes her morning toilet; he dances with a Siamese lady in the royal palace, and has lunch with the king and queen; he scrambles over the temple at Angkor with noted scientists and hunts tigers with a maharaja. Finally, in India, he mounts his party on his trusty magic carpet and skates over deserts and seas until, four minutes later, he is back in Hollywood.

"Corsair"

In this rather deliberate melodrama director Roland West and Chester Morris carry the bootleg war onto the high-seas. First Mr. Morris is a stock salesman—but when he won't sell bad oil stock to widows and orphans he is fired, and with the aid of a yacht takes to hijacking the liquor cargoes of the bootleg syndicate financed by his former boss. Revenge! Then his old boss learns who is stealing his liquor, and is so struck by his nerve and business enterprise that he makes him *president* of the dubious oil company, at which Mr. Morris' noisy moral scruples disappear and he accepts. Technical love interest is supplied by Alison Lloyd, a girl who makes herself pretty trying by continually shaping and reshaping her mouth into cupid bows.

Age for Love is Howard Hughes' latest effort and is supposed to bring Billie Dove back into the family. The whole affair is very unfortunate, and in view of Mr. Hughes' past good deeds perhaps the kindest thing to do would simply be to pass on quickly to something else.

Beau Hunks: If you have a chance, drop in to see the latest Laurel and Hardy short comedy, *Beau Hunks*, in which our gallants are disappointed in love and join the Foreign Legion to Forget It All. Apparently some of the original *Beau Geste* sets are used, and the results are unusually successful. After a while they discover that *all* the officers and men in the Legion, as well as their enemies, the "Riff-Raffs," are trying to forget the very same girl.

"The Speckled Band"

Sherlock Holmes is on the screen again in another first-rate British mystery thriller, *The Speckled Band*. If he is a renovated and modernized Sherlock Holmes, with electrical gadgets, filing-cabinets, batteries of telephones and other modern devices at his elbow, he is none the less good fun. *The Speckled Band*, I should perhaps warn you, is a big snake, and if snakes terrify you, you better stay home. The leading rôle is played by the same Raymond Massey who is now playing *Hamlet* on the New York stage.

CREIGHTON PEET.

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The New Books

The Week's Reading

Memoirs of Prince von Bulow. Vol. II Little, Brown, $5.00

The six years covered by Prince von Bülow's second volume end with his forced resignation as Imperial Chancellor in 1909. The third volume will give us the "World War and Germany's Collapse," and the last will recount his experiences as a young man and discuss the diplomatic service at large.

As in the first volume, the high points of interest to American readers who are not close students of international affairs lie in the author's pen-portrait of the Kaiser and in his denunciations of the wretched diplomacy which, he holds, needlessly threw Germany into the Great War. Of course the latter subject historically belongs in the third volume, but Bülow simply can't keep off it. Thus, in discussing the Algeciras Conference of 1905 he turns aside to ejaculate "If the diplomats of all the great Powers [in 1914] had kept their heads—the Germans, alas! lost theirs worse than the others—the most terrible catastrophe the world has seen for centuries could have been averted." And when he points out that Herbert Bismarck was not a great diplomat, he adds that "Herbert certainly possessed far higher gifts than Caprivi or even Bethmann and Michaelis"—a quite typical double slam.

The Chancellor had no light job to keep the Kaiser from throwing a monkey wrench into the diplomatic machine. Bülow notes the Kaiser's desire "to have his finger in every pie and himself always in the limelight." When through a slip made by subordinates in the Foreign Office an English paper published a mess of indiscreet talk by the Kaiser about men and things as *authorized*, the Chancellor in the Reichstag expressed his hope that "His Majesty, even in future *private* conversations, will maintain that reserve indispensable to the interests of any consistent foreign policy and to those of the authority of the Crown"—a flat rebuke of master by servant. At one time in the row about this affair the Empress, "her eyes red with tears," asked Bülow if the Emperor would have to abdicate. Indirectly and after a lapse of time this matter largely led to Bülow's resignation.

The Kaiser's egocentric semi-mania is oddly shown by one incident—King Edward VII, in Berlin, spoke feelingly to Dr. Renvers about the latter's professional and personal service to Edward's sister, mother of the Kaiser. When the Kaiser saw clippings about the incident he wrote on the margin, "Nonsense! My mother never knew Renvers." In fact the Kaiser and Dr. Renvers were together for many hours at that deathbed. Bülow asked Renvers what he would call such a statement by the Kaiser. Dr. Renvers said, *"Pseudolgia phantastica"*; and when asked for a translation, said "A tendency to live in phantasy. Or to put it quite bluntly, to lie."

Yet Bülow, though painfully aware of the Kaiser's faults, writes evidently sincerely of "the gifted, nobly endowed character he possessed, so lovable and so amiable, so natural and so simple, so large-hearted and so broad-minded."

Speaking of Edward VII, we may note that Bülow is hardly fair to him as ruler and diplomat. Yet it was very largely Edward's tact that lined up Russia with France and England when Germany was trying its best to prevent that understanding.

Many international questions and incidents occurred in the years covered in this volume—Morocco, Algeciras, the German naval expansion, the Russo-Japanese war, the growth of Socialism, and much else. While Bülow was Chancellor he at least kept off from many dangerous rocks.

Apart from politics and diplomacy the book has lively interest through its many personal pen-portraits, and the recounting of odd and striking incidents.

R. D. Townsend.

Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East By Victor A. Yakhontoff Coward-McCann, $5.00

For the past twelve years it has been a truism that Soviet Russia has been continuing, under novel political and economic forms, the traditional policy of the Tsars towards China and the Far East. General Yakhontoff is in a position to write authoritatively, in support of this thesis, by virtue of the fact that he was identified with the Tsarist policy and has recently been able to verify at Moscow data and inferences concerning Soviet policy in the Far East. His book is the most reliable and authoritative exposition of the bases of Russia's Far Eastern policy, past and present, that is available in the English language.

The popular impression as to the unaltered character of Russian policy is, he finds, correct. Where the popular impression is at fault is in its analysis of that policy, which it regards as being one of intrigue and imperialism. General Yakhontoff asserts and is able to prove that, with one exception—the Manchurian adventure of 1896-1905—Russia's policy towards China has been one of peace and forbearance. The Manchurian policy which led to the disastrous war with Japan, he shows, was disavowed and opposed by the responsible Tsarist ministers, and was followed only because a gang of unscrupulous grafters and adventurers got hold of the Tsar and persuaded him to pursue a course of action which was at variance with the traditional policy and true interests of Russia. Another possible exception to the thesis of Russian pacifism towards China is the virtual absorption of Outer Mongolia by Russian polity and Russian economy. This, however, has been inevitable, in view of the powerful attraction which is invariably exerted by a strong political organism upon a sparsely settled territory which owes nominal allegiance to a remote and politically disorganized author-

What to Read

FICTION

Maid in Waiting, by John Galsworthy: Scribners. A quiet drama of English life. Readers of Mr. Galsworthy's Forsyte chronicles will find a few old friends.

The Almond Tree, by Grace Zaring Stone: Bobbs, Merrill. The story of three sisters.

American Beauty, by Edna Ferber: Doubleday, Doran. A story of early Colonial settlement, its growth, decay and final replacement by the new order.

Mourning Becomes Electra, by Eugene O'Neill: Liveright. Greek tragedy in up-to-date guise; a trilogy of plays.

Time Exposure, by Parkhurst Whitney: Farrar & Rinehart. A penetrating story of American marriage.

NON-FICTION

The Care and Feeding of Adults, by Logan Clendening: Knopf. A book against cranks and in behalf of those who fall for the crank's schemes.

Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography, by Henry F. Pringle: Harcourt, Brace. The first full and impartial biography of T. R.

The Work. Wealth and Happiness of Mankind, by H. G. Wells: Doubleday, Doran. The third part of Mr. Wells's massive trilogy.

Forty-Niners, by Archer B. Hulbert: Little, Brown. The story of the great gold rush.

The Unknown War, by Winston S. Churchill: Scribners. The World War in the East.

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ity. The alienation of Mongolia began years ago and has continued, without any act of political expropriation, and will be ended only by the complete sinification of the area, by the development of Chinese railways in Central Asia or by the peaceful absorption of Mongolia into the new economic life of Central and Eastern Siberia. If Russia builds railways and develops factories, and China does not, there is no power which can prevent Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet from gravitating towards Siberia. When it takes six weeks by river boat and camel train to reach Kashgar from Shanghai and only a week to reach it from Moscow, there is nothing which can prevent the Russian economy from absorbing the outlying portions of the Chinese Republic. This, however, is not imperialism but history. We have seen a similar process at work in the Caribbean, without leading to political annexation and without being motivated by a desire for conquest.

JOHN CARTER.

Joseph Smith and his Mormon Empire
By Harry M. Beardsley
Houghton Mifflin, $4.00

This country has produced a mighty galaxy of men of unusual note. Many of these began their careers on mere air, carried them on out of tune with everything that is sensible and ended them on a false note. It is much to be doubted whether a more conspicuous case of this species of low level eminence could be found than the one we have in the person of Joseph Smith (1805-44) of Mormon memory. If there be one it is probably his successor, Brigham Young (1801-77), of Mormon tradition. We owe a debt of no mean magnitude to Mr. Beardsley for his study of 420 carefully written pages on the manœuvrings of these two gentlemen, from the time the digging of the Erie Canal indirectly gave rise to their plots to such place as they may both be today. Mr. Beardsley's bibliography is formidable. It would seem that it was unnecessary to write still another treatise on the subject. But these previous tracts and books have been either too strongly *con* (it is not wise to condemn any man completely) or too palpably *pro*. The present study sifts all the argument, gives all the facts, and is so thoroughly impartial that it should make the writing of still other volumes on the disagreeable topic superfluous. We must admit that the oldest lands of cultured Europe have had just such things, indeed some of the Smith myths find their parallels in classic Greece. This, however, does not exonerate the United States, even though the years in which Joe Smith functioned were ones that lent themselves so readily

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to mass deception. It is just a trifle bewildering to find Mr. Beardsley looking for an excuse for his hero. For the case was and is plain: Joe Smith was first of all as ignorant as the proverbial horse. He really knew nothing in the spheres in which he claimed extra light. Languages? They played the first rôle in his trick. He could not even speak English. His real estate deals put to shame the wildest schemes of any projected moonshine park. His palaver makes the dialogue of Amos 'n' Andy sound like a parley between Gladstone and Bismarck in comparison. And yet, with 32,000,000 people directly engaged in education in the United States at this moment, one person out of every one hundred and twenty-five is still a follower of and believer in these two: Smith and Young. It is just too bad.

ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD.

Has Science Discovered God? A Symposium Crowell, $3.50

This book is a symposium edited by Edward H. Cotton giving the answers of sixteen scientists in various fields to the question stated by it. Such well-known leaders as Millikan, the physicist, Conklin, the biologist, MacDougall, the psychologist, Jeans, the astronomer, to mention only a few, tell us in their own way how they believe the science of this century and particularly these last few years has affected religion. Many of us are "fed up on symposia," but this one has such merit that it would be a pity to allow prejudice to stand in the way of reading it. These essays will bring you up to the minute on the present situation in the age-old controversy concerning the relationship of these two great human interests. It will be surprising to many who have thought of science as being thoroughly antagonistic to any God in the religious sense to find that the current sets strongly in quite the other direction.

To quote Professor Conklin, "I cannot understand how any one can take the long view of Nature that science reveals, can follow the course of evolution from the formation of atoms to the development of man and consciousness and still believe it is all without plan or purpose." And again, "No one can furnish scientific proof of the existence or nature of God, but atheism leads to fatalism and despair, while theism leads to faith and hope and love." Not the least interesting of the papers in this symposium is that of Malcolm Bird, who from long and painstaking study tells us of the contribution of psychical research in this realm. He maintains that science and religion are coming together and that their meeting ground is to a large degree that supplied by psychical research.

Summing up these papers is difficult and perhaps impossible, but it seems fair to say, as the editor of the volume does, that science is giving us a plausible idea of a universal mind, that we are closer to the first Cause, and the purpose back of creation than we ever have been. "The door is ajar. It will swing back when all of us philosophers, scientists and religionists submerge our prejudices in a universal desire to know the truth."

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Behind the Blurbs

Charles of Europe By D. B. Wyndham Lewis Mitchell and Coward McCann, $5.00

Less a biography than a story of the political struggle for the unity of Europe, with Charles V the champion of centralized Catholicism against the disruptive forces of Protestantism. A struggle, says Lewis, still undecided, and one on whose outcome rests the future of civilization. For with Chesterton and Belloc he believes that only by submission to the authority of the Catholic church and the consequent adoption of a modified mediæval social structure, can the world be saved. You may not be in sympathy with so biased a viewpoint, but the story is told so sincerely and so eloquently that you cannot fail to be impressed.

The Lady of Godey's By Ruth E. Finley Lippincott, $3.50

The life of Sarah Josepha Hale, America's first woman editor, who made Godey's Lady's Book the biggest magazine in the country. Her editorial policy and methods are those of the national women's magazines of today. And she wrote "Mary Had a Little Lamb." American domestic life and tastes are very largely formed by its magazines, and this account of Godey's will give you the pattern of life from the forties to the seventies. There are many handsome illustrations.

Love Letters of a Living Poet Benjamin de Casseres Long & Smith, $2.50.

One of the best examples of bad taste we have seen in a long time. To kiss and tell is the poet's prerogative—but he must be a poet. Mr. de Casseres is not one, and with all respect to the emotions which inspired his letters, the emotion which prompted him to give them to the world—with a photograph—does not seem admirable. Nor do the letters themselves offer any justification. At once inarticulate and unrestrained, only occasionally do they rise above a jumble of clichés and overwrought metaphors to any suggestion of beauty. But the book has value as an example of how not to write.

WALTER R. BROOKS.

From the Life

▶▶*Mystery*

THERE were a lot of things he didn't understand. He stepped back and squinted at the car he had been polishing, flipping the grease-stained rag as though he were shaking dust from imaginary plumage.

Yessir. Here he was all lit up over cleaning the old car. Of course he'd cleaned the old car before; and he'd taken girls riding before. But he'd never felt exactly—

As for the gasoline, he went on to himself, rubbing vigorously once more at the windshield—when the Old Man had said sure, he could use the car if he paid for the gasoline—why, it sort of gave him a kick. He had an idea, kind of, that she'd rather he paid for the gasoline that took her riding than for a soda, maybe. As if it was more honest. If she'd been older—but she was young. Sixteen. No older'n he was. And little and shy. Anyway, she made him feel different. As if, somehow, she expected him to be—well—wonderful. Maybe it was because she was a minister's daughter. No, he'd known other ministers' daughters. Well. He'd get the old tank filled up at the gas station on his way over.

He left the car standing in front of the shed that served as garage and walked slowly towards the house, lifting his head inquiringly to the moonless dusk. It would be dark tonight.

It was much later—after she had come running down the walk (like something blown along by the darkness, he had thought vaguely), and the only words he could think of were, "Gosh! This is great!" After they had stopped for the other two couples (a nuisance, he had thought, but she wanted them so that was all right) they had reached the country when he noticed again the click in the engine.

Her face was a pale, still blur beside him in the dark; but he could see in his mind the way her hair was blowing in little wisps, the way her eyes looked up at him sideways (he never could make out whether she was frightened or laughing at him), the way her mouth tucked itself in at one corner, trying to smile—trying not to smile? Funny, the way he was feeling. As if he was much older than she was. And the way the country made him feel—sort of excited—knowing it so well and yet not knowing it on account of the darkness. If he could only tell her some of the ideas he was having like the road stretching on around the world forever, and like feeling not a boy any more but more what she expected him to be, as if he were beginning to under-

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stand things he'd never understood before, like what life was about. But all he managed to say was, "Do you notice that click in the engine?"

There was a filling-station down the next road and he turned that way, pulling up in the bright light like someone waking out of a dream. He felt old and expert as he climbed out and peered inside the engine along with the mechanic. But the trouble wasn't much. "Five cents," said the mechanic.

He put his hand in his pocket and pulled out the change from the gas. Three cents! Three cents—

"Any you fellows got a nickel?" he asked turning his head and wishing that his collar didn't feel so tight. No; they wouldn't. They were only fifteen. "I know a fellow," he said frowning thoughtfully, "lives just beyond the tracks. He can let me have it, all right. Don't worry. Back in a moment."

All this time she had said nothing—only looked at him, and now she smiled. A funny smile, that liked him and laughed at him and approved of him all at once. Well, of course two cents was only two cents, but if it was honest it was honest.

The fellow he knew was home, and that was lucky. Sure, he said, here was a nickel and don't forget it. . . .

As he took the wheel again he felt better. Now he could pay what he owed. The click was gone. They could get back on the main road. What he had been thinking about, and the way he had been feeling would come back to him. And the funny feeling in his throat that came from the three cents, and having to go out of their way and not knowing how to say things—he turned his head to make sure she was still there—

Afterwards, he couldn't remember what he had been thinking about not to see it. The fast train.

But that was long afterwards when he lay on a hospital bed straight and unmoving, staring through the one window at a branch that reached across the pane. A living branch. And she was gone. For two cents. And the other two fellows. Gone.

He remembered suddenly the way she had smiled at him, and his heart pumped slowly. And he remembered he had wanted to tell her how young she seemed and how old he felt. And how he was beginning to understand things. All about life. It was all gone.

Because there was a click in the engine? Because he had to let her know that he was honest? Because he felt so funny over the three cents?

He stared at the branch and knew that he would never understand anything about life again. IBBY HALL.

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Music

Torch and Dance Records

As PRESENTED in the show, the music from George White's *Scandals* is far from genteel, but there is a certain amount of restraint employed. Victor Young, the brilliant Brunswick conductor and arranger, has brought out a double-sided twelve-inch disk of tunes from the *Scandals* that beats anything of its kind for heat and general rowdiness[1]. In addition to the Brunswick Orchestra, the Boswell Sisters, Bing Crosby, Frank Munn, the Dorsey Brothers, the Mills Brothers and (anonymously) Everett Marshall are all involved. How's that for talent all on one record?

Speaking of the Mills Brothers, they are a quartet with guitar who use no other instruments except their hands and their vocal chords. What they do to two old favorites, *Tiger Rag* and *Nobody's Sweetheart* is not only astounding, but eminently danceable[2]. I had thought the *Tiger Rag* field pretty adequately covered, but these lads have added several new notes and new ways of making them.

I'll Be Glad When You're Dead, You Rascal, You started it, but now there is another delightfully vindictive colored ditty about. *They Put the Last Clean Shirt on Bill Today* is the tale of a bad man who messed around with his pals' gals until one of them got him and now he's in a wooden kimono where they can find him Decoration Day. Clarence Augustus Williams chortles it, although he is listed as The Whispering Baritone. On the reverse he advises us *Don't Let Love Make a Fool of You* and if you listen to both of these songs and take heed you'll have lots of fun and keep out of trouble[3].

A gentleman of color who couldn't do anything about that but who has gone frightfully British on us as to accent is Leslie Hutchinson. Never convinced before, I must admit that his *Time on My Hands* is much the best to date, well backed by *I'm Glad I Waited*[4].

O. C.-T.

1. Brunswick 20102.
2. Brunswick 6197.
3. Columbia 14628-D.
4. Parlophone R 925.

Prose and Worse

Most figures in the public eye
Make me either laugh or cry.

I do not think that Mr. Hoover's
Done very much to win approvers.

It always makes me snicker some
To look at Mr. Wickersham.

As for the greatness that is Ford's,
I like his works, but not his words.

Nor can I say that I'm one who's felt
Enthusiasm for young T. Roosevelt.

Alas, the only man that I'm for
Is one I cannot find a rhyme for.

I do not mind, however, tellin'
You that it isn't Mr. Mellon.

Things that far off enormous loom
Grow small as you get closer to 'm.

You never shout: "They are the
berries!"
When viewing your contemporaries.

For those whose ties and table manners
Fret you, you seldom sing hosannas.

I wonder if the Greeks thought Plato
A rather tasteless cold potato.

Perhaps if living in Angora
I could think well of Mr. Borah.

And possibly great Mussolini,
Viewed from the Vatican, looks teeny.

I think behind this lies the truth
Of why men shun the voting booth.

The man who begs me for my vote
Quite often gets, instead, my goat.

He may be capable and wise,
A foe of grafters, crooks and drys,

But if he wears bright pink suspenders
Or goes on periodic benders

Or has long hair, or bulging eyes,
My interest in him quickly dies.

Is it, indeed, too much to ask
That all our great men wear a mask?

Without a mask, the non-essential
Becomes at once too influential.

A close-up of a president
Has saddened many an honest gent.

A movement to protect our national
Heroes seems to me quite rational.

I hope this plan appeals to you:
To ship them off to Timbuctoo

Where far from platforms, crowds and
cameras
They will again seem great and
glamorous.

They'll not be here, of course, and so'll
Govern us by remote control,

Which as a scheme of government
Is not without its precedent.

Ah, how I could admire our mayor
If he lived on a Himalaya!

How joyously I'd think of Hoover
If he but dwelt in chilly Newfou-

ndland. And with how meek and lovin' a
Gaze I'd look up to a governor

Who lived in Bechuanaland.
Won't you give this scheme a great big
hand?

☆☆☆☆☆☆

For the benefit of those who wish to make a little money by the practice of some easy and genteel employment at home, but who find that the only things they can think of to make bring them into competition with the five and ten cent stores, we wish to suggest several articles described in *The Girl's Own Book*, published in 1832. Engraved eggshells, we think, are not now on the market, nor are fly cages, made of bristles fastened together with beeswax ("which look very pretty suspended from the ceiling"). Then there are feather baskets and melon-seed baskets, and baskets made of allspice (but you have to soak the allspice in brandy before stringing), of moss, alum and rice. Or you can take up poonah painting, an art much neglected of late. Just what a poonah is, unfortunately, is not made clear. In fact, all the directions in the book leave a good deal to be desired, and in several cases the author has altogether, though not very gracefully, dodged them. As, for instance, with various things made of cut and folded paper. "They are very difficult to describe, and any little girl who wishes to make them can learn of some obliging friend in a very few moments." But we did learn how the fly cages are made, and if you'd like to prepare a few to send to your relatives for Christmas, we'll be glad to send you the directions.

WALTER R. BROOKS.

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How T. R. Took Panama

(Continued from Page 435)

friendly arrest early on November 4; he was very close to the revolutionists and was living in Amador's house. A few more citizens would be arrested, as a gesture, and a rocket sent up by the Fire Brigade. To prevent the possibility that the troops bound for Colon could cross the Isthmus, it was arranged that all rolling stock on the railroad would be sent to Panama City. This detail was the work of Colonel J. R. Shaler, Superintendent of the Panama Railroad.

Behind all this, in influence and in power, was the United States. Roosevelt insisted, probably truthfully, that he had no idea what assurances might have been given by Bunau-Varilla to the revolutionists. The Roosevelt Administration had concluded, and Bunau-Varilla knew it, to make the Treaty of 1846 with New Granada an excuse to assist the revolutionists. This, of course, was distinct from Dr. Moore's plan, now obsolete, for the seizure of Panama by the United States.

THE DECISION of the conspirators to delay the revolution until November 4 was very nearly fatal to the cause of liberty. The *Nashville* arrived at Colon at 6:30 o'clock on the evening of November 2. That same day the Navy Department sent instructions to Commander John Hubbard of the *Nashville* and to the commanding officers of the other vessels steaming toward Panama. They were directed to "maintain free and uninterrupted transit" on the Isthmus. If this was threatened "by armed force" they were to "occupy the line of railroad" and prevent any troops, government or insurgent, from landing "at any point within fifty miles of Panama." But Hubbard's cable had not arrived. He saw no disturbance nor any basis for action in the uncontested landing at midnight on November 2 of 500 Colombian soldiers from the gunboat *Cartagena*. On the morning of November 3 all remained quiet, and he cabled Washington to that effect.

On hearing that the Bogotán warriors had arrived, and that only the narrow isthmus stood between them and the patriotic revolutionists, Dr. Amador and his associates at Panama City were again plunged into gloom. This time Señora Maria de la Ora de Amador (de Guerrero), the leader's wife, buoyed their courage. It was too late to retreat, said the future First Lady of Panama. Their plans had been carried on so far that retreat was impossible. In this crisis Cromwell's men saved the day. Generals Tovar and Amaya were greeted at 8 o'clock that morning at Colon by Shaler, the Panama Railroad superintendent. He exuded cordiality, and he led them with appropriate flourishes to a special train with a single car attached to the locomotive. The troops would follow at 1 o'clock that day, the superintendent explained, when the Colombian generals asked why they were being shipped to Panama City by themselves. Then, as they still hesitated, Shaler pulled the bell-cord, hopped off and waved a genial farewell as the train rolled out. In due time it arrived on the other side of the isthmus where Tovar and Amaya received a reception worthy of their high rank.

Amador, his courage fortified by desperation, had decided to strike. Shaler telegraphed that the troops would not be transported. When Colonel Torres, the commanding officer at Colon, demanded a train, the bluff and hearty railroad superintendent said that this was impossible unless the fares of the troops were paid in advance. When Torres protested that his superior officers had all the money, $65,000 conveniently borrowed from the Collectors of Customs at Barranquilla and Cartagena, Shaler said that he was desolated, but what could he do? Regulations were regulations; tickets must be bought for the troops. If only Governor Obaldia were present, he could sign authorizations in lieu of cash. But the Governor was at Panama City and, as Shaler was well aware but kept to himself, was hand in hand with the rebels. Thus it was Shaler, in the employ of Cromwell's clients, who saved the day. No train was supplied. Tovar and Amaya, being elaborately entertained at the Government House in Panama City, grew slightly uneasy as the afternoon wore away and their soldiers did not appear.

A highly excited Colombian colonel demanding transportation, a puzzled American naval officer wondering whether he had made a mistake, and a regiment of soldiers encamped at the railroad station, naturally attracted attention in sleepy Colon. Malmross, the American Consul, felt it wise to report these unusual activities to the State Department and his descriptive cable was received at Washington at 2:35 o'clock in the afternoon. He said he knew very little of what went on across the isthmus, but certainly something was under way. His cable inspired F. B. Loomis, the first assistant to Secretary Hay, to send an unfortunate inquiry. He controlled his patience for an hour, and at 3:40 tele-

. . LET'S GIVE

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CUBA

Year-Round Playground of the Americas

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graphed to Felix Ehrman, the consul at Panama City: "Uprising on the isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed." Ehrman, who was also close to the conspirators, replied that as yet there was no uprising but that one was due that night.

A final change in plans by the excitable revolutionists scheduled the revolution for 8 o'clock that night, November 3, during a band concert on the plaza. Generals Tovar and Amaya were to be invited to the musical feast and then arrested. The rebellion, however, got out of hand. At about 5 o'clock the Fire Brigade began the distribution of weapons to the crowds in the streets. The two generals were escorted to police headquarters while a great crowd assembled, shouting, *"Viva el Itmo libre!" "Viva Huertas!" "Viva el Presidente Amador!"* and shot off their guns, to the extreme peril of spectators. The hour of freedom was exactly 5:49 o'clock on November 3, 1903. Ehrman reported the revolution to Washington a few minutes later.

On the following morning Dr. Amador, soon to be President of Panama, directed that the troops which had taken part in the revolt be drawn up at the barracks. Somehow during the night funds had been obtained; according to one rumor by backing a mule cart up to the sub-treasury in the city. In front of his expectant men stood General Huertas, and there was a moment of hushed silence.

"The world is astounded at our heroism!" said Amador. "Yesterday we were but the slaves of Colombia; today we are free . . . . President Roosevelt has made good . . . . Free sons of Panama, I salute you! Long live the Republic of Panama! Long live President Roosevelt! Long live the American government."

Then the president-elect suggested that each of the heroes be given the $50 in gold which had been pledged. It was done, amid further cheers for America and Roosevelt. Later that day a demonstration was held in the plaza of Panama City. The parade wound up at the Century Hotel where Huertas was nearly drowned as bottle after bottle of champagne was poured over the warrior's head. Nor did his countrymen deny to Huertas more substantial rewards. He was immediately paid $30,000 in silver and later received $50,000 additional in gold. Most of the junior officers received $10,000 each.

At Colon on November 4, while these jollifications went on across the isthmus, there was a moment of gravity. It was, however, as brief as the interval in Panama on the evening before when a Colombian gunboat had tossed a shell or two into the town and had killed a Chinaman. Colonel Torres was still outraged because he had been denied transportation to Panama City. He announced that he would kill every American in Colon unless his generals, still languishing in police headquarters, were released. Thereupon Commander Hubbard, no longer in doubt as to his function, landed some Marines and announced that the troops could not, in any event, use the railroad. Torres calmed down. He assured Hubbard of his deep friendship for the United States and on November 5, in return for $8,000 advanced by Shaler, he consented to withdraw with his men. They sailed on the S.S. *Orinoco* as Shaler, always gallant, sent aboard two cases of champagne for Torres. On November 6 the Panamanian flag was raised at Colon.

All this excess of patriotism, flag-waving and excitement must not obscure the real reasons for the Panama revolution; to preserve untouched the $40,000,000 of the New Panama Canal Company and to accelerate the construction of the canal across the isthmus. President Roosevelt was notified by Ehrman at 11.35 o'clock on the morning of November 6 that freedom had been finally and definitely accomplished. He thereupon acted with haste that was indecent, not to say unwise. At 12:51 o'clock, hardly more than an hour later, Hay instructed the American Consul at Panama City to recognize the *de facto* government. Identical instructions were sent to Beaupré at Bogotá and to Malmross at Colon. On November 10 Amador and Frederico Boyd were *en route* to the United States to sign a treaty.

Through a Glass Darkly

From the Trend of the Week in the Outlook of December 5, 1951

In pardoning William Jones, convicted in 1950 of manslaughter, Governor Harris of Illinois declared last week that he had taken into consideration Jones's activities in the successful campaign in 1932 to liberate Mooney from St. Quentin Prison.

The Pictorial Newspaper Editors Association, assembled in convention at Metroburg last Monday, pledged its members—"in the interest of the public"—to print during the year 1952 no photograph of any one younger than two or older than sixty-five years.

President William Lyon Phelps, of Yale, conducted the ceremonies at the Phi Beta Kappa clubhouse last Thursday at which James J. Tunney, Jr., of the Class of '52, eldest son of Professor Tunney of the English Department, was inducted into the Society.

Bunau-Varilla, actually a realist despite the romantic flavor of his writings, did not purpose to wait for the arrival of the two Panamanians. The possibility loomed that the new republic, like Colombia, might grow dissatisfied with $10,000,000 and demand part of the $40,000,000 to be paid to the French stockholders. Bunau-Varilla did not intend to have all his labors thus undone, and he persuaded Roosevelt to receive him, as the minister from Panama, on November 13. The treaty was signed on November 17 by Hay and Bunau-Varilla, and Amador, if he had any hope of raising the price, arrived too late.

To the protests from Colombia, forwarded by the too sympathetic Beaupré, the United States turned a deaf ear. Hay insisted, on behalf of Roosevelt, that the action had been "in the interest of peace and order. . . ." But American naval vessels, by now at Panama City as well as off Colon, had been used to prevent reprisals by Colombian troops. Roosevelt was determined that these should not take place. He gave instructions accordingly, and for a time it seemed as though there would certainly be fighting between the Marines and the Colombian soldiers. This would have been war, and Roosevelt would have found it exceedingly difficult to defend before Congress. Ultimately, however, Colombia decided that it was hopeless to obtain justice by force, and she began the long and weary task of obtaining an indemnity by diplomatic representations.

In June, 1904, as Elihu Root prepared his summary of administration accomplishments for the 1904 convention, Roosevelt instructed him to tell about "Panama in all its details." The following year he declared that the United States had shown "a spirit not merely of justice but of generosity in its dealings with Colombia." These convictions of righteousness in "the most important action I took in foreign affairs" never deserted him. Pride in his achievement caused him to make indiscreet statements, however. On June 19, 1908, he referred to "taking Panama" in a letter to Sir George Trevelyan. The phrase in his memoirs was: "I took Panama without consulting the Cabinet." Finally, on March 23, 1911, Roosevelt made the address at the University of California which was to cost his country $25,000,000. He said:

. . . . I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed conventional, conservative methods, I should have submitted a dignified state paper of approximately two hundred pages to the Congress and the debate would have been going on yet, but I took the canal zone and let

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Congress debate, and while the debate goes on the canal does also.

This public confession gave new impetus to Colombia's efforts, carried on since 1904, to obtain redress for her grievance. Even Roosevelt, by suggesting that Panama turn over to Colombia for ten years her annuity of $250,000, tacitly admitted some basis for her resentment. Roosevelt would tolerate no frank admission, however, that he had been wrong. Half-hearted attempts to appease Colombia were made during the Taft Administration. Then Wilson became President and a treaty was drafted which offered an apology and $25,000,000 to Colombia. Roosevelt, of course, was furious. He could not believe that "Mr. Wilson has so far forgotten the dictates of honor and his duty as a citizen . . . . to pay $25,000,000 or any other sum . . . . Not one dollar can be paid . . . . with propriety, and it would be an act of infamy to pay even a dollar to a nation which, in crooked greed, tried by blackmail to smirch the good name of America."

ROOSEVELT's friends in the Senate, among them Cabot Lodge, blocked confirmation that year. The world war postponed further consideration until Roosevelt was dead and the Harding Administration came into being in 1921. Now, new and all-persuasive influences were demanding conciliation of Colombia. In the final debate on an indemnity in April, 1921, Senator Lodge spoke at length of his reverence for the memory of Theodore Roosevelt, who had been his closest friend. It was unthinkable that he would act counter to the wishes of that friend, now dead. The treaty under consideration, he said, was not the one to which Roosevelt had objected so violently, which he had branded as countenancing blackmail. It no longer contained an apology for wrongdoing by the United States. The "amount of the indemnity," said Lodge suavely, " . . . . carried no admission as to wrongdoing of any kind, but was simply a question of the . . . . amount to be paid in consideration of the recognition by Colombia of the independence of Panama."

This was an obvious absurdity. Why should the United States, innocent of wrongdoing, turn over $25,000,000 to the Bogotán "corruptionists"? When, in history, had this country paid millions to persuade one Latin-American country that the independence of another should be recognized? Other reasons lay beneath the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts, and Lodge soon revealed them. The treaty would "promote our commerce . . . . our exports have been falling off," he said. But even this was not the specific reason; it was a generality. The reason was oil, the oil that smeared the Harding Administration and stained the name of a President of the United States. Its spokesman was Albert B. Fall, the Fall who was "a faithless public servant." Senator Lodge, pleading that $25,000,000 be given to Colombia, told of valuable oil concessions which might otherwise be awarded to the Royal Dutch-Shell, the Anglo-Persian, and other British interests. Colombia was inclined to discriminate against the United States in accepting bids, but the $25,000,000 would result in a treaty of "amity and commerce" which would "improve our opportunities . . . . of making secure these concessions."

Roosevelt, continued Lodge, would give his approval if only he were alive. He said that in 1916 his friend had done so, and he offered in evidence a letter from Fall dated March 21, 1917. This quoted a communication from Roosevelt, written in 1916, praising Harding's Secretary of the Interior, then Senator from New Mexico, as "the kind of a public servant of whom all Americans feel proud . . . . " Fall's letter also described conversations in which Roosevelt had recommended improved trade relations with Colombia. None of this made the former President's position at all clear, or offered even approximate proof that he favored the treaty under discussion. But the Senate was convinced; the treaty was ratified on April 20, 1921.

Who got the $40,000,000 paid by the United States? "Doubtless in Paris, and perhaps to a lesser degree in New York," Roosevelt admitted, "there were speculators who bought and sold in the stock market with a view to the varying conditions in the course of the negotiations, and with a view to the probable outcome." But although, in December, 1908, the President informed Philander Knox that "Mr. Cromwell has sent on to me the complete list of the stockholders of the Panama Canal Companies," no such list has ever been made public nor is there a trace of it among the papers at the Library of Congress. It is as much of a mystery today as it ever was.

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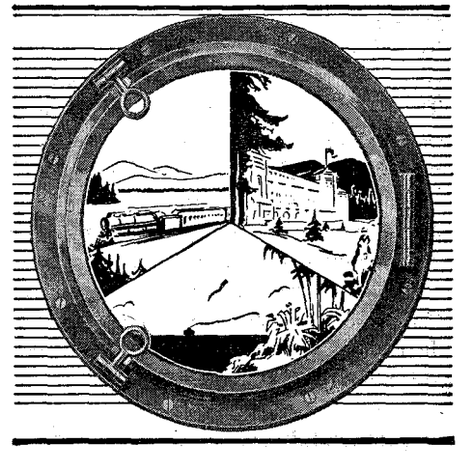
No President left the White House with more regrets than Roosevelt. He was only 50 and politics savored his whole life. His regret at passing will be described next week, as well as his nervous quest for something to do. Toward the end he fought with a rebellious Congress. He corresponded at length, too, with the German Kaiser who was trying to alarm T. R. about Japan

TRAVEL SUGGESTIONS AND INFORMATION FOR OUTLOOK READERS



Winter Sports in general from the Pacific to the Atlantic are increasingly popular. ¶ Skating we have always had with us, and sleds were ever the popular gift for the younger set, but now skiis and toboggans appear on many a Christmas list among the grown-ups as well. ¶ Ideal conditions for winter sports are found at Chateau Laurier in Ottawa, Chateau Frontenac in Quebec, and on Mount Royal in Montreal. ¶ The mountains of New England, Pennsylvania and New York afford excellent opportunities for learners as well as experts. ¶ Rocky Mountain National Park, near Denver, Colorado, draws winter sports patrons from beyond the Mississippi. ¶ Lake Tahoe puts winter sports within easy reach of San Franciscans. ¶ Portland, Seattle and Western Canada are all making more and more use of the deep snows once a signal for long months of isolation now welcomed as an opportunity for winter carnivals. ¶ Literature on winter sports, either in the snow or sunshine belt, together with travel suggestions of any kind desired, will be sent free by The Outlook Travel Bureau. ¶ Address Mrs. Kirkland, *Director*.

OUTLOOK TRAVEL BUREAU

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The Scourge of the Schools

(Continued from Page 431)

slipped suddenly from a measurable position of educational leadership to one of backwardness, charged that the school managers and teachers had lost their zest for a fight and rebuked them for timidity and lethargy when the law-making body was cutting their salaries and reducing appropriations to the higher educational institutions. Another editor began in his paper of national circulation a signed article called "Schools and Waste" by calling "boloney" parts of the presidential address of Dr. Willis A. Sutton before the National Education Association in July.

"The problem that confronts the teachers of America," wrote the editor, "is the problem of teaching boys and girls reading, writing and arithmetic. It is a whale of a problem, too, and if it were successfully solved great things would be accomplished for the nation."

He went on to charge that teachers "are content with nothing less than covering the earth. They acquiesce in, when they do not instigate, all sorts of movements to make the schools take over the functions of the home, the church and the policeman. And now, apparently, they are about to take on the duties of the Employers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce as well."

He thought it no wonder, considering the length and breadth to which modern education has spread, that "there are complaints that it is a bit thin." He expressed some fear, too, that "any and every sort of quack, pretentious mountebank and pious fraud can invade the field of education," and pointed to the difficulty of throwing such charlatans out. "The average layman knows that he is quite unequal to such a task; so he becomes an easy victim for educational 'experts' with fifty-seven varieties of expensive idiocy."

THE editor may be a trifle in error, if by layman he means the public, for in recent months it has been clearly demonstrated that the public is quite equal to the task. Never before have the teachers and their schools been so thoroughly punished. Why? Perhaps because they have been wasteful. But if there has been waste, it has been in part the result of the feverish and competitive effort of the public to have more expensive school buildings than the neighbors, more teachers and increased salaries for them, longer school terms, and enlarged educational facilities generally, into which some fads and frills have doubtless naturally come—the public being present and agreeing. But if this eagerness is a vice of the public, which has been so lavish in expenditures for schools, the sin should not be laid at the door of the teachers.

The blame for the present sad plight of the schools and for the evil days upon which the teachers have fallen should be properly distributed. It is probable that little of it can properly be charged to debts, deficits and depression. The probability is high that a strong case could be made against some school teachers, especially those who make their classrooms as bare and desolate as their own narrow lives.

The probability may be a bit higher that a stronger case can be made against a sizable number of the professional managers of education; for, while a host of school superintendents observe the ground rules of decency and the so-called profession, too many of them are amateurs, dilettantes, medicine men, quacks, charlatans, sophists, buffoons, fatheads, and just plain mediocrities of the back-slapping, hand-shaking, "hello-Pete" variety, as well as sadly lacking in courage—miserably uneducated and at best mechanics only. Equally as high, if not indeed higher, is the probability that a stronger case still could be filed against many of the so-called professional educational experts who pin their faith so fully and blindly to what they call science in a realm that requires art. They not only set the styles in pedagogy, as already pointed out, but they train the teachers and managers of the schools. Moreover, they have made it fashionable to make high promises in the name of education and to encourage the public to look to it as a cure-all for the ills that flesh and democratic society are heir to.

Not all the blame should be placed upon the school teachers and managers and those who train them. A very large part of it falls heavily upon the public that provided the dance and got exactly what it ordered. Does it seem manly for the public to refuse to pay the fiddlers now because it believes the music was sorry? And is it wise to punish the teachers and cripple the schools when in doing so the public is punishing posterity and repudiating the debt eternal, that of maturity to childhood and youth?

But the public should be pitied as well as blamed. Although the people of the United States last year spent three billions on schools (only 2.74 per cent, however, of the national income) they have not yet learned to distinguish between schooling and education. And now the public faces the danger that the sins of unintelligent economy, aggravated by hysteria, may turn out to be as gross if not worse public immoralities than the extravagance and lack of balance charged against the schools.

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For the best Remarkable Remarks contributed by Outlook readers the Outlook will award weekly prizes of $5 for the one judged best, and $2 each for as many more as may be adjudged worthy of inclusion in the column.

Entries for each week's contest close at 12 o'clock noon on the Monday of the week preceding date of publication.

All Remarkable Remarks must be direct quotations and must be accompanied by evidence of their source. If the Remarkable Remark selected by any contributor has appeared in the press, it must be accompanied by clipped evidence, showing the author of the remark and the name and date of the publication in which it appeared. If the Remarkable Remark has appeared in a book, the title of the book and the name of its author, together with the number of the page upon which the Remarkable Remark is to be found, must be submitted.

All Remarkable Remarks must be accompanied by a single sentence explaining why the contributor considers the contributed remark remarkable.

In case two or more contributors submit the same Remarkable Remark which is judged worthy of any prize, the contributor whose Remarkable Remark is accompanied by the best—briefest and wittiest—explanatory sentence will be awarded the prize.

The editors of the Outlook are the sole judges of the contest and are ineligible to compete. All contributions should be sent to the Remarkable Remarks Editor.

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